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" The words of these boasters are their only weapons, and even those are as little to be dreaded as their " arms, which are carried merely as a disguise for their cowardice."——SWIFT.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

EDINBURGH REVIEWERS.——When Swift wrote the above-quoted sentence, he must have known, one would think, something of men, who like the Edinburgh Reviewers, first assaulted a man with words, and then went out to give him " *satisfaction*", upon the condition that both parties should load with *paper bullets*; so that even the conduct and character of these men present us nothing new under the sun. That they are as great cowards in politics as they have been, before the Bow-Street magistrates, proved to be in the field, will very soon appear; and to accomplish this purpose I have set apart this day, promising my readers not frequently to occupy their time with this, or any similar subject.——The reason, which the Reviewers have given, for attacking me, is this: that, as my present opinions are of mischievous tendency, it is right to contrast them with my former opinions, and, by showing that they widely disagree, to disarm my present opinions of their effect upon the public mind, which effect they assert to be very extensive.——In this very reason is contained my justification for an exposure of their inconsistency, their selfish motives, and their profligate principles; for, though I may fairly presume, that the writings of these unknown adventurers have, comparatively speaking, but little effect with the public; yet, that effect, if it be of mischievous tendency, it is my duty to destroy if I can; and, at the same time to prevent my own character and conduct from remaining misrepresented, however few may be the persons, whom the misrepresentation may reach.——The charges, preferred by the Reviewers against me, range themselves under two distinct heads: first, that of inconsistency; second, that of now promulgating doctrines tending to weaken the attachment of the people to the present system of rule, and particularly to the House of Commons.——But, before I proceed to the examination of these charges, it is proper to notice the obvious cause, whence the preferring of them has proceeded. Upon reading their review (if such it must be called) of my writings, a question which must have occurred to every one, was; " how has it happened, that these persons, " who began their work much about the " time that Mr. Cobbett began his Political " Register, never thought proper to notice " that work until now?" It is not their custom to review *news-papers*. May be so; but how come they to have done it *now?* Why, the doctrines of the Register became so very dangerous, and its influence so very extensive, that it was absolutely necessary to endeavour to apply a remedy. Very well; but why delay this absolutely necessary work *so long?* The real cause was the following passage in the Register of the 21st of March last, Vol. XI. page 440: " To see my Lord Henry Pet- " ty, who, backed and cheered by a daily in- " creasing *brood of young friends*, equal, in " every qualification to those of Pitt, and " anxious, like them, to prove their natural " attachment to the country, by drawing " their nourishment from her paps, &c. &c." This, they knew to be pointed at them; they felt the justice of the description, and that, too, at the mortifying moment, when those paps were, quite unexpectedly, torn from their hungry jaws. This, joined, perhaps, to apprehensions of the future, was obviously the cause, and the sole cause, of what they call " a review of Cobbett's Po- " litical Register", *ten volumes* of which work, in the course of five years, having, as they confess, an almost unparalleled extent of circulation, they had suffered to pass entirely unnoticed.——In this review, they have quoted many passages from my former writings, relating to actions as well as to men, contrasted them with those of my latter writings, relating to the *same* actions and the *same* men, and exhibited a complete disagreement, between them. And, if I myself had not, in due time and place, noticed this disagreement, and accounted for it, their criticism would have been fair enough; but, at every stage of change in my opinions, I myself have observed upon such change, and have, in a manner satisfactory to myself, at least, accounted for it. I beg leave to refer the reader particularly to my remarks upon the Middlesex Election, in 1804, Vol. VI. pages 331, 370, and 446; to my letter to Pitt, in Vol. VI. page 449; to my an-

swer to the defenders of Lord Melville, in Vol. VIII. beginning in pages 513 and 545; and to my answer to the Morning Chronicle's charge of inconsistency, which answer will be found in Vol. X. beginning at page 748. Upon these articles alone I venture to rely for a complete justification of every charge preferred against me by the reviewers, upon the score of my inconsistency. "But," it may be said, "so thought not the reviewers." Suppose so; but, how comes it that they have taken *no notice* whatever of these articles, not even in the slight way of allusion? The articles might, in themselves, be of little importance; but, when the professed object, and the sole object, was to expose my inconsistency, it was, surely, incumbent upon the expositors, not only to notice my explanations upon the points, as to which they charged me with inconsistency, but to shew, that those explanations were not satisfactory. I contend that they are satisfactory; a pretty good proof that the reviewers thought that they were so, is, that they have cautiously avoided any allusion to them; and, than this caution of theirs we need not, I think, ask for any better test of their *justice* and *candour*.——They say, that a change of opinion, upon abstract principles, may be readily allowed to any man; but, when, at one time you find him applauding the *self-same act*, which, at another time, he condemns, he is to be set down as detestably inconsistent. But, if these persons had not been under the influence of that "pitifully vindictive motive," which, at the outset, from an apparent anticipation of the charge, they are very pointed in disclaiming, they would have observed, that, besides the nature of the act itself, was to be taken into view, the *degree of true information*, which, at the respective given periods, *I possessed*, relative both to the nature and motives of the act in question. For instance, I am informed that a gentleman has given a poor labourer money to pay his rent; I, at once, applaud the act. I find, afterwards, that this money was a bribe for a vote at an election; I, at once, condemn the act. Is there any *inconsistency* here? The reviewers quote my former opinions relative to Mr. Horne Tooke's trial, the substance of which was, that, though acquitted, he was guilty of treason; and then they quote passages, lately written by me, from which it may fairly be gathered, that I think him to have been, not only an innocent, but an injured man. But, they should have noticed; 1. that I was abroad during the time of the trial, and for six years afterwards; 2. that I have stated myself, that I there had the means of obtaining scarcely any other but the ministerial prints, or, at least, that, in fact, I did obtain scarcely any other; and, 3. that my change of opinion, upon this subject, arose, as I have stated myself, from a sober and careful subsequent perusal of the whole of the proceedings upon that trial, from which I imbibed the conviction (as I am sure, every candid man will that reads those proceedings), that Mr. Tooke and his associates had only acted upon the very principles, which Pitt had before professed, and which he had acted upon as an associate of Mr. Tooke; that they had no other object in view than that which he had, at the time alluded to, professed to have in view, namely, to obtain a real representation of the people in parliament; and that, of course, they were men most shamefully persecuted.——In like manner, as to the subject of *parliamentory reform*, my change of opinion has arisen from a change in the degree of the true information that I possessed. These reviewers know well enough, from the account which I have given of my progress in life, in this very work which they pretend to review (see vol. VIII. pages 513 and 545), that it is next to impossible, that I should have become acquainted with the *real* state of the house of commons, at the time when I insisted that no reformation in that house was necessary. This they must have known; and, the fact was, that, though I knew that the law of elections was grossly violated, in many cases, I had not the means of ascertaining the extent of the violation; much less had I the means of trying it by the test of the great constitutional laws, and of tracing it down in its various pernicious consequences; and which means of information have now produced, in my mind, a thorough conviction, that, unless the law of elections be duly executed, and the constitution be thereby restored, this country, in its present form of internal policy, cannot be of long duration. Let it be always observed, too, that in my former remarks, respecting parliamentary reform, I never separated the proposition from the *party*, by whom it was urged, which party I suspected (and, as it now appears, very justly) of employing that proposition, with other means, merely for the sake of getting their rivals out of place and themselves into place. Had the proposition come from men, of whose general character and views I thought favourably, I should certainly have taken time to inquire, before I condemned it.——The reviewers have contrasted my recent with my former expressions and sentiments with respect to

the king and his family; and, if they have discovered a difference, that difference is not only satisfactorily accounted for upon the above general ground; but, has been accounted for upon specific grounds by me. I have, however, no complaint to make upon this head; because, though the reviewers have garbled and misrepresented a passage that they notice, they have given quite as much as I think sufficient to do away this part of their charge, especially as they "have no "great objection to the *substance*" of my present expressions.—— Several persons, with whom I was acquainted, when abroad, have, upon their coming to England, expressed their astonishment at this change, which the Edinburgh Reviewers have noticed. I have uniformly referred them to the articles of the Register, above pointed out; adding, "*stop a couple of years*, and then "tell me what you think;" and, in all the instances, in which I have had an opportunity of knowing the result, the change in their sentiments has perfectly corresponded with that in mine. In fact, when all the circumstances are duly considered, when it is considered under what strong prejudices (prejudices of eight years cultivated growth) I started in England, the wonder is that I overcame them at all; and, had I been, like the Edinburgh Reviewers, a hunter after the public money, I should, like them, have been, to this day, the eulogist of every one who had had that money, or any portion of it, to bestow.——Every man is free to change his opinions, provided he can give a sufficient reason for the change; and a sufficient reason I have, regularly as I have proceeded, given, and in the most undisguised manner, for the change in mine. Let us see, therefore, whether these reviewers can say the same *for themselves*. They have praised, until the late change, every ministry that has been formed since their work began. They were delighted with Addington, enamoured of Pitt, and they adored (for good reason) poor Mr. Fox, upon whom they were fastened by Lord Henry Petty. They grossly satirized Lord Lauderdale, while *out* of place, and more grossly flattered him, when he came into place. They eulogized Pitt's system of finance to the skies, and that of Lord Henry Petty's (the very reverse of it) to the third heaven. But, as to men, they may behave better than they have heretofore done, or worse, and so justify a change in the sentiments respecting them; measures of finance are intricate, and admit not easily of comparison of opinions regarding them, especially as every year must make an alteration in the state of the debt, and, consequently of the capacity to pay it off, or keep up the value of the stock. Let us, therefore, select a case, relating to which there has been not even the least varition in the circumstances, and scarcely a possibility for men, generally well informed, and always residing upon the spot, to have derived any new light or information, whether from reading, or from experience; and that case is, the question relating to the *Roman Catholics of Ireland*. ——The reader has been before informed, that these reviewers, upon the formation of the Whig Ministry, were imported from Scotland by that profound statesman, Lord Henry Petty, with whom they had been punning companions at Edinburgh. They found England more salubrious, I suppose; for here they stuck, and were, by one means or another, in a fair way of being fastened upon the devoted body of this "lazy and "vicious" country, several of them having actually begun to draw blood, when the king (save his majesty for it!) brushed both them and their silly patrons off, in a moment when they least expected it. It has been contended, I know, that they held that our "laziness and vice" proceeded from too full a habit, and that it was necessary, in order to restore us to a perfectly healthful state, to draw off the superabundant circulation. But, whether from motives of humanity, or from other motives that it would be needless to describe, fastened and fastening upon us they were; their legs were thrown daily under the table of some minister of state, whose jokes they cheered, and whose follies they laughed at, when, in the morning, they met and compared notes, at their snug economical apartment; their straight backs, high cheek-bones, and *modest* faces, were seen in all the passages and offices of Whitehall, whence their lucubrations were dispatched to Edinburgh. From such a state of possession, and especially of prospect, to be ousted, in the twinkling of an eye, without either writ or summons or intimation of any sort; to find themselves, like the drunken cobler in the play, returned, as if by enchantment, back to their onions and beer, was too much for even their patient natures to bear; and, it was just at this time that my unhappy Register of the 21st of March happened to salute them. Upon me, therefore, and upon the authors of their fall (the king and new ministry) they fell in their next Numbers. The way in which they have sought revenge upon me the reader has already seen, and he shall now see how they have, in the same number, attacked their more

formidable enemies; but, as he proceeds, he will please to observe, that this article, respecting the Catholics of Ireland, is, presently, to be contrasted with another article of theirs upon the *self-same* subject, there having been, *with them*, no new means of information, nor any, even the smallest, alteration in the circumstances of the case. ——They are reviewing a pamphlet of Mr. Parnell (who also had *a place* under the late ministry), which pamphlet is called, "an apology for the Catholics of Ireland," and the object of which is, to shew, that lord Howick's famous bill ought to have been adopted.——"If," say they, bursting forth in patriotic fury; "if ever a nation "exhibited symptoms of downright *mad-*"*ness*, or *utter stupidity*, we conceive these "symptoms may be easily recognized in the "conduct of this country," [that is to say, *king* and *parliament*, mind!] "upon the Ca-"tholic question. A man has a wound in "his great toe, and a violent and perilous "fever at the same time; and he refuses to "take the medicines for the fever, because "it will disconcert his toe! The MOURN-"FUL and FOLLY-STRICKEN BLOCK-"HEAD forgets that his toe cannot sur-"vive him;——that if he dies, there can "be no digital life apart from him; yet he "lingers and fondles over this last part of "his body, soothing it *madly* with little "plasters, and anile fomentations, while "the neglected fever rages in his entrails, "and burns away his whole life. If the "comparatively little questions of Esta-"blishment are all that this country is capa-"ble of discussing or regarding, for God's "sake let us remember, that the foreign "conquest, which destroys all, destroys this "beloved toe also. Pass over freedom, in-"dustry, and science—and look upon this "great empire, by which we are about to "be swallowed up, only as it affects the "manner of collecting tithes, and of read-"ing the liturgy—still, if all goes, these "must go too; and even, for their interests, "it is worth while *to conciliate Ireland*, to "avert the hostility, and *to employ the* "*strength of the Catholic population*. We "plead the question as the sincerest friends "to the establishment;—as wishing to it "all the prosperity and duration its warmest "advocates can desire—but remembering "always, what these advocates seem to for-"get, that the establishment cannot be "threatened by any danger so great as the "perdition of the kingdom in which it is "established." . . . . . .

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"In the next two reigns, Mr. Parnell shows "by what injudicious measures of the Eng-"lish government the spirit of Catholic op-"position was gradually formed; for, that "it did produce powerful effects at a subse-"quent period, he does not deny; but con-"tends only, (as we have before stated), "that these effects have been much over-"rated, and ascribed solely to the Catholic "religion, when other causes have at least "had an equal agency in bringing them "about. He concludes with some general "remarks on the dreadful state of Ireland, "and the contemptible folly and bigotry of "the English; remarks full of truth, of "good sense, and of political courage. How "*melancholy* to reflect, that there would be "still *some chance of saving England* from "the general wreck of empires, but that it "may not be saved, BECAUSE *one politi-*"*cian will lose two thousand a year by it,* "*and another three thousand, a third a place* "*in reversion, and a fourth a pension for his* "*aunt!* Alas! these are the powerful "causes which have always settled the des-"tiny of great kingdoms, and which may "level Old England, with all its boasted "freedom, and boasted wisdom, to the dust. "Nor is it the least singular among the po-"litical phenomena of the present day, that "the sole consideration which seems to in-"fluence the unbigotted part of the Eng-"lish people, in this great question of Ireland, "is a regard for the personal feeling of the "monarch. Nothing is said or thought of "the enormous risk to which Ireland is ex-"posed; nothing of the lucrative apostacy "of those from whom they experience this "treatment; but the only concern by "which we all seem to be agitated is, that "the King must not be vexed in his old "age. We have a great respect for the "king; and wish him all the happiness "compatible with the happiness of his peo-"ple; but *these are not times to pay foolish* "*compliments to kings*, or the sons of kings, "or to any body else: this Journal has al-"ways preserved its character for courage "and honesty, and it shall do so to the last. "——If the people of this country are "solely occupied in considering what is "personally agreeable to the King, without "considering what is for his permanent "good, and for the safety of his dominions; "if all public men, *quitting the common* "*vulgar scramble for emolument*, do not "concur *in conciliating the people of Ire-*"*land*; if the unfounded alarms, and the "comparatively trifling interests of the "clergy, are to supersede the great question "of freedom or slavery, *it does appear to* "*us quite impossible that so mean and so*

" *foolish a people can escape that destruc-*
" *tion which is ready to burst upon them;*
" a destruction so imminent, that it can
" only be averted by arming all in our de-
" fence who would evidently be sharers in
" our ruin, and by such a *change of system*
" as may save us from the hazard of being
" ruined by the *ignorance* and *cowardice* of
" ANY GENERAL, or by the SCRUPLES
" of any human being, let his DIGNITY
" be what it may."——Now, leaving the remarks here made about a mournful and folly stricken blockhead; about foolish compliments to kings and the sons of kings; about the salvation of the country being bartered for places and reversions, and pensions to aunts; about the necessity of such a CHANGE OF SYSTEM as may save us from the hazard of being ruined by the ignorance or folly of any general, or by the scruples of any human being, let his dignity be what it may; leaving these remarks to be compared with the complaints which these reviewers make against my " inflammatory" expressions and sentiments, the reader has only to bear in mind, that they here, in July, 1807, give it as their settled opinion, *that, to conciliate the Catholics of Ireland by concessions of some sort, thereby to induce them heartily to aid us in defence of the whole kingdom, is the way, and the only way, of obtaining a chance of saving the country.* Now, then, let us hear what they said upon a proposition of the Bishop of Landaff, who, in a speech which he published, in 1804, upon the subject of the defence of the country, suggested, amongst other things, concessions to the Irish Catholics, as the means of calling them forth heartily to assist us in that defence.——" We," say the reviewers, " venture *to affirm*, that *a more*
" *singular idea never entered the mind of a*
" *practical statesman*, than that of obtaining
" unanimity, *in a season of imminent public*
" *danger*, by stirring a discussion of the
" points at issue between contending sects.
" If by the force of reason, Bishop Watson
" believes it *possible* to lull the jealousy of
" the Irish Protestants and English High-
" church-men; if he thinks a vote of par-
" liament, in direct opposition to all the
" rooted prejudices of those powerful par-
" ties, will be received with perfect con-
" tentment by them, as well as hailed with
" exultation by their adversaries; then may
" he expect, from the adoption of his pro-
" posal, an augmentation of *the cordiality*
" *which now universally prevails, from a*
" *suspension of the controversy.* But, sure-
" ly, *when the enemy is at our gates*, and
" when, happily, no backwardness is dis-
" played by any sect in the preparations for
" repelling him, it would be a strange poli-
" cy *to lay down our arms, and set about*
" *investigating grievances*, in order that we
" may increase the cordiality of *a small part*
" *of our people, by alienating, or at least ir-*
" *ritating, all the rest.* At another time, it
" would not become Parliament to regard
" the prevailing prejudices which have so
" long oppressed the dissenting interest,
" more especially in the sister kingdom.
" But in the present critical emergency,
" all prejudices are to be weighed by the
" proportions of those whom they sway;
" and what our author terms the ' neglect
" of the dissenters,' is only the *salutary wa-*
" *ving of a discussion, that would certainly*
" *estrange one great body of men from the*
" *common cause, in whichsoever way it*
" *might happen to terminate.*"——There needs no comment upon this. The instance is quite complete; and the *motive* for the change of opinion is by no means hidden. In 1804 these " *courageous* and *honest*" gentlemen found it suit their views to commend every thing done by the Addingtons; and, in 1807, they were enlisted under Lord Henry Petty and Lord Howick. Had they, in imitation of me, given, as they proceeded, a *reason* for this change of opinion; had they said, as I have said, and that, too, upon this very subject, " we once thought, that, to
" stir the question relative to the Irish Ca-
" tholics would, during a season of immi-
" nent danger from without, tend rather to
" weaken than to strengthen the defence of
" the kingdom; but, upon more mature re-
" flection, and upon having received (as was
" the case with me, upon all the points,
" whereon they have charged me with in-
" consistency) new and better information,
" we now think, that to stir this question,
" and to make some concessions to the Irish
" Catholics, and thereby strengthening the
" defence of the country, is the only way to
" obtain a chance of escaping from the im-
" minent danger which threatens us from
" without:" had they thus acted, they would have been chargeable with no inconsistency, and the man who, upon this score, should have brought such a charge against them, referring, at the same time, to their reasons for the change, would have found his charge fall dead to the ground; and, if he had cautiously avoided noticing the reasons which they had, in due time and place, given for the change, he would have exposed himself, as they have now exposed themselves, to the risk of being regarded as actuated by pitiful vindictiveness, instead of that love of truth, without which criticism, which ought to

operate as wholesome correction, becomes a curse.——Now to the second charge, which these reviewers prefer against me; to wit, *that of promulgating doctrines tending to weaken the attachment of the people to the present system of rule, and particularly to the House of Commons.* —— First, I must say, that I have not, any where, observed any symptoms of very strong attachment to the present system of rule, and particularly to the House of Commons. But, granting it to exist, in both cases, and let it be as strong as these gentlemen would wish it, they have wrong stated the charge against me. They should have accused me of promulgating doctrines, such as are found in the constitutional laws of England, which laws, they might have said, are not very much in coincidence with the present system of rule; that, I have contended, frequently and strenuously, that a great change of system is necessary; that we ought not to be exposed to utter ruin "by the ignorance or cowardice of any ge-"neral, or by the wilfulness or caprice of "any human being, let his dignity be what "it may;" that baseness and profligacy are detestable in the great as well as in the little, and ought to be boldly censured; that play-actors and hired singers and notorious sharpers and strumpets are not fit companions for any of those, who demand from the people respect and reverence; that the taxes are burthensome to the utmost capacity of bearing, and that they ought to be diminished, first, by a reduction of the places and pensions and other grants, and, next, by a curtailing of the interest now paid on account of the national debt; that, as to the House of Commons, I have contended that the terms of the act of settlement ought to be now acted upon, and that no placeman or pensioner of the crown should sit in the House of Commons; that seats in that house ought not to be bought and sold, as I must suppose they are, from the numerous advertisements to that effect, which I see in the newspapers; that the history of the last fifteen months clearly proves, what is the nature of the connection between a ministry and a House of Commons, as at present constituted; that, while placemen and pensioners sit in that house, the House will be a mere instrument in the hands of the minister of the day; and, finally, that amongst the other effects of a minister's being compelled always to have a majority in the House will be this, that in selecting persons to be employed in great national concerns, the minister must be guided by what is called parliamentary influence, which evil, I say, would be removed, if the House of Commons were constituted according to the constitutional laws, passed at, and soon after the Revolution.——These are my doctrines, respecting the present system and the House of Commons; and, indeed, I cannot say that the reviewers have much misrepresented the substance of them, though, in one or two instances, they have grossly, and, I must think, wilfully, misrepresented my views. They, however, *now* find all so well, that they seem to think me almost a traitor for insisting upon the necessity of "*a change of system*," though they themselves, when in their passion against the new ministry, insisted that a change of system was necessary, absolutely necessary, to afford us a chance of escaping from utter ruin; and, with respect to parliamentary representation, they not only find little to object to, but, they have discovered, that what we vulgarly called influence and jobbing and bribery and corruption are so many links of a fine philosophical chain, connecting all the several ranks and degrees of men in the state, and insuring the whole of the people a fair representation in fact, though not clearly discernible to superficial observers. In short, they justify every thing, relating to the composition of the House of Commons; every thing, the existence of which has heretofore been the subject of sorrow and of shame with all honest and conscientious men of whatever party or description as to politics. But, did these gentlemen always think thus? Did they always think that this philosophical chain was the safeguard of the nation? We have, I think, heard them talk about England's being exposed to destruction, "because one man will "not give up a place of three thousand a "year, another a reversion of four thousand "a year, and a fourth a pension for his "aunt." But, here there is, indeed, nothing about the House of Commons; here is nothing said about the evils arising from a minister's *governing by a parliament.* We have, however, only to go back to their Number, which was published in April last, just after they had been ousted from their offices and prospects. The remarks I am about to quote are interwoven amongst extracts of a pamphlet about "the Dangers of "the Country," which pamphlet, very insignificant in itself, they evidently chose to *review*, as they call it, merely for the purpose of conveying their sentiments to the public upon the then recent change in the ministry. I beseech the reader to remark how desponding their tone is; and how broadly they insinuate, that a revolution, such as that of France, would call forth the *talents* of the country to its defence; and *their* talents, of

course, amongst the rest, if not at the head of the rest. They gave no hint of this sort, while they were daily dining with some great fool and nightly dancing with some little fool. All was then well; but, the moment they were thrown back upon the *pavé*, they began to perceive the *melancholy* effects of the prevailing system, and to point out how great France had become by a revolution, which had called forth the *talents* of the country.——" We may," say they, " talk " now of the immense accession of territory " and population, which France has actually " received; of the military discipline which " is established over all that vast empire; " and of the enormous armies, which have " been trained to victory in the incessant " and extended wars of fifteen years. These, " no doubt, are formidable items in the ac- " count current of her greatness; but, they " are rather the *fruits* of her success, than the " *causes* of it. France, under her *old govern-* " *ment* was more populous, and more unani- " mous, and possessed more disciplined " soldiers than in the first of her revolu- " tionary contests; yet, in that distracted " and tumultuous state, she overthrew the " finest armies in Europe, and established " her dominion over provinces which her " monarchs had vainly coveted for several " generations before. It is to the REVO- " LUTION ITSELF then, and its effects " on the interior structure of society, that " we are inclined *to ascribe the greatness* " *and the successes of France.* By that " great concussion, the whole TALENTS " of the nation were set at liberty, and " rose, by their natural buoyancy, to the " *higher regions of the state.* The fact is " now pretty generally admitted; and the " theory does not lye very deep. No man " can *win* a place, who does not deserve to " occupy it; but he may *succeed* to it, with- " out any such qualification. A man can- " not *make* a fortune without money- " getting talents; but he may *inherit* it, " without any other disposition than those " of squandering and improvidence. The " case is precisely the same as to public " functions and political power. In regu- " lar and established governments, they are " often given, and must often be given, to " rank and to wealth, and to personal in- " fluence, without any great regard to su- " perior fitness or ability. In the first for- " mation of society, or in its second for- " mation, in the event of a *radical Revo-* " *lution*, no such thing is practicable.— " Places are not *given* them, but *taken*; " they are not *inherited*, but *won:* and " rank and wealth, and adventitious influence " being ANNIHILATED, the only competi- " tion is as to personal qualifications; and " the only test of their existence, is their " actual operation and display. The other " nations of the Continent are, as France " was fifty years before the revolution; be- " stowing every important employment on " the order of nobility exclusively, and " naming their generals and ministers, " with scarcely any exception, from among " a small number of court favourites or " powerful families. The people at large " is either quite destitute of the talents, " for which there is neither reward nor " employment; or it begins to feel discon- " tented at the exclusion, and to look upon " its own rights and interests as distinct " from those of its rulers. With us the " case is *somewhat* different; and it is ne- " cessary to consider in what the difference " consists. When an office of importance " becomes vacant,—when a commander is " to be named for a great expedition, or an " ambassador for a delicate and critical mis- " sion, it is probable that more than one " individual will occur to the ministry, as " peculiarly qualified to discharge those mo- " mentous duties, and clearly entitled to " the nomination on the score of superior " merit. If they were *free* to follow the " suggestions of their own judgment, there " would be no doubt about the result; *but* " *a ministry, in this country, is a set of* " *persons who hold their patronage, and all* " *their other power, in consequence of being* " *supported in all their measures by about* " *two thirds of the members of the legisla-* " *ture, and who would forfeit all this pa-* " *tronage and power, the moment they lost* " *that support, or were deserted by any con-* " *siderable proportion of their adherents.* " If it should happen, therefore, that any " person of great weight and influence in " that body should chuse himself to be the " commander or ambassador, in the case " now imagined, or should *insist* that the " appointment should be given to some " friend or connexion of his own, and " that, in both cases, under the express " assurance that he would withdraw with " all his adherents, and unite himself with " the opposition, if his application was not " attended to; it is plain, that, in most " cases, the minister must yield to his con- " ditions. If occurrences of this nature were " *rare*, and if the government were left in " *general* to the free exercise of its dis- " cretion, the evil arising from such " occasional *interferences* would scarcely " require to be noticed but to those who " are at all acquanted with the practice of

" the constitution, it must be unnecessary " to say, that this is not the case. Not " only are all the great offices *bespoken for* " *the leading members of the legislature*, " or their immediate connections, but all " the smaller employments, down to secre- " taries, and clerks to secretaries, are sup- " plied by candidates who rely upon in- " terest, and not upon merit; and produce, " as their only qualification, the recom- " mendation of this noble lord, or that " *disposer of boroughs.* So far from being " left to the freedom of their own choice, " ministers have in general no other discre- " tion to observe, than to disoblige the " least powerful of their suitors, and to " pacify those whose application is rejected " to day, with promises of better success " to morrow. The *consequences* of *this* " *system* are obvious, and sufficiently *me-* " *lancholy*."—Aye, melancholy, indeed, that such a system should prevail as prevents your talents " from rising, by their natural " buoyancy, to the *higher regions of the* " *state!*" Melancholy indeed, that, instead of inhabiting the higher regions of the state, you should be obliged to put up with the higher regions of a lodging house!——I am not, observe, finding fault with any thing contained in this extract, which is full of wholesome truths most admirably expressed; but, it is " melancholy " to reflect, that the authors of them are a set of men, even more time-serving and venal than any of those which they have described. It is " melancholy " to reflect, that the men, who wrote and promulgated the above observations, should, in a few months, have written and promulgated an article, the object of which was to persuade the reader that the *borough system*, so far from being an injury, is a benefit to the kingdom; and that so far from "melancholy" consequences proceeding from placemen being in the house of commons, " it is the *fittest* place " for them." There is no reason given for this surprizing change of opinion; it is not pretended, that the writers had derived any new light upon the subject; the intermediate space of time was, indeed, only three months, and the writers had been, for years, well acquainted with every thing relating to the state of the representation in parliament. So that, it appears to me quite impossible to attribute the change to any other cause, than that of downright profligacy, operating in conjunction with selfishness and revenge. In the article, which I have last quoted, and which was written just after the Whig ministry were ousted, you see, in every line, the heart-burning of disappointed ambition; but, time, which is the greatest of all conciliators, soon whispered in the ear of these " *courageous* and *honest*" critics, that this was not the way to succeed in their views; that this was not a doctrine with which men " entered the higher re- " gions of the state."——But, after all, they are, in reality, so many hirelings, and it is waste of breath to express surprize at their conduct. At their first beginning, I was in hopes, that we should have had one review, the writers of which were neither sold nor put up to sale; but, the baseness, the detestable partiality and falsehoods, evident in their review of Mr. Peltier's Trial, convinced me, that their disposition to sell their talents was, to the full, equal in degree to the talents they had to sell. They have, in one or two places, thrown out a sort of side-wind insinuation, that I, too, am actuated by selfish motives; and, by way of revenge for my recent remarks upon them, as connected with the School project, they have published, in the Courier news-paper, about ten days ago, a letter, addressed to me, in which they unequivocally ascribe my hatred of Pitt and his memory (which hatred is perfectly sincere) to my mortification at being *neglected* by him. The folly here is equal, at least, to the falsehood; for, not only do they know the fact to be false, but they also well know, that, though they (aye and Lord Henry Petty along with them) were to take their solemn oath to the truth of this fact, there is not a single man in all England that would believe them. These men have done excellent service in terrifying blockheads from the press; they have done some good too in politics; but, blasted as their work now is in reputation, as far as relates to politics, whatever they write will, and I must say with justice, be suspected to proceed from some base motive, or other; and, however good it may be in itself, will produce but very little, if any, good effect. But, it may be asked of me, why I, by the description given of them, in the Register of the 21st of March, provoked them to this recent profligate tergiversation. I may be said to have provoked them to *attack me*, and, therefore, may be regarded as the cause of that attack; but, surely, I am not chargeable with the *manner* of the attack. If they chose to attack me with falsehood instead of truth; if they chose, in unjustly charging me with inconsistency, to commit, themselves, an act, at once, of inconsistency and of baseness rarely parralleled, that is no fault of mine. Besides, as to the " *provocation*," it was, on my part, an act of self-defence. They, if we view the matter

in its true light, were the aggressors. I saw them, upon the exaltation of the Whigs, flock up to England, "like carrion crows to "a poor dying horse;" I saw some of them gorging, and others of them about to gorge, upon the fruit of our labour; and, when, all of a sudden, I saw them driven away, like the said crows, from their unfortunate prey, was I not to be allowed to express my satisfaction? Hard indeed! If a plunderer enter my house, is just beginning to set about his work, and some good friend, chancing to step in, kicks him into the kennel, am I not to rejoice at my riddance? And, if I do rejoice, shall the plunderer assault me, his friends alledging that I am the aggressor? Is there any justice, is there common sense, in this?——I am of opinion, that, if the king had not ousted the silly patrons of these determined place-hunters, the latter would, in the course of a very few months, have been fixed upon the public (and some of them for life, perhaps) in places and pensions to the amount of not less than *twenty thousand pounds* a year; and, *for what?* For what were we to be thus loaded? For no better reason, perhaps, than that Lord Henry Petty, no great while ago, belonged to a spouting-club with these men at Edinburgh! Pretty nearly as good, I think, as making us pay for a pension to an *aunt*, an instance of waste pointed out in strong terms by these "*ho-*"*nest*" reviewers. If they have real claims to any portion of the public money, let them distinctly prefer them; and not deal in insinuations, that *talents* are not employed, that all the offices, even down to secretaries and clerks to secretaries (they had tried them all!) are filled by the influence of the great, while *merit* is every where met with a frown of refusal. This is the old cant; the invariable whine of all those, who have a desire to live upon the public rather than upon their own labour. True these reviewers could not live by the law. That they had tried in Scotland; and, therefore, they would hardly earn bread at it in England. But, they could write their review, as they call it. They could get an honest livelihood that way; and, worst come to worst, if they had been too lazy to work and too proud to beg, I must confess, that, if driven to rob the public, I, in their place, should have chosen a line, somewhat more adventurous indeed, but, certainly, less base, and, if we admit of degrees in honesty, infinitely less dishonest, than that of pillaging under the protection of law.——I have but one observation to add, and that is, that it will be necessary to watch these men for the future. I do not mean in their writings, the effect of which must be trifling, especially amongst those whose opinions will, by-and-by, be of importance; but, I mean, we must watch them, lest they, by hook or by crook, get their hands into our pocket; for, they who are such able twisters, will, when they perceive that their old patrons are ousted for ever, not hesitate many hours in seeking new ones. I do not aver, that their general and sweeping defence of parliamentary corruption was intended as an indirect compliment to "His Majesty's present con-"fidential servants," for these reviewers like a hare, can look behind them as well as before them, at one and the same time; but, I am perfectly satisfied, that it was intended to answer some purpose connected with the coming at a share of the public money; and, therefore, let us watch them. A correspondent has sent me the *real names* of these "courageous and honest gentlemen," which names *I* will publish, together with some anecdotes of each hero, as they respectively come forward to plunder us. They may *say* what they please of me, or of my neighbours; they may abuse us themselves, and they may spur on that SOLON the Second, Mr. Whitbread, to stigmatize us as "*lazy* "and *vicious*;" but, if I can help it, they shall *rob* neither me nor my neighbours; and, if they should succeed in robbing us, with impunity to their persons, their names shall be rendered pretty notorious —Here we part, for the present, with my making them this offer; that, if they will but abstain from all attempts to get a share of the taxes into their clutches, or, in other words, to live in idleness upon the labour of the people; if they will but abstain from this, they may say of me and my writings just what they please, and I will bind myself in a bond, if they like, never to say one word by way of answer, and never to mention either them or their book, from henceforth unto the end of my life.

AMERICAN STATES.—— At length we have, in the following article, from the Halifax (Nova Scotia paper) a pretty full and authentic account of the circumstances, which led to the searching of the Chesapeake by the Leopard. I beg the reader to bear in mind what was said by me, when the intelligence first arrived in answer to the Morning Chronicle, who had attributed the blame to the English Commander solely, and who had insisted boldly, that there were more Americans on board of the Leopard, than British seamen on board of the Chesapeake. I knew, I was morally certain, that the outrage on the part of the Americans must

have been very great; for, I had always found people very slow indeed to resent their ill treatment. But, let us now take the Halifax publication, and reserve a few remarks for the matter therein contained.——

" By this time the orders of Admiral Berkeley are made known in the United " States; they were founded on the following facts.——In the month of February " or March, a lieutenant of the American " Navy, opened a rendezvous in the town " of Norfolk, in Virginia, for the Chesapeake frigate, then fitting out at Washington. Many deserters from his majesty's ships, then lying in the Chesapeake, " entered with this officer, in particular " from the Chichester, who in consequence " of *running on shore* was alongside the " wharf at Norfolk, and part of the Zenobia's crew, who was *stranded* near the " Capes. These deserters, and many more " belonging to the Halifax, Melampus, &c. " were openly paraded in the streets by the " lieutenant under the American flag, and " frequently met by their former officers, " *and reclaimed by them*, but were told by " the lieutenant, that *although he knew* " *they were deserters*, he could not give " them up without orders from his government.——A remonstrance was then made " by the British Consul to the chief magistrate of Norfolk, who refused acting in it, " or authorising any thing which might be " done by their own officers to take them. " This was officially communicated to his " Britannic Majesty's minister at Washington, who represented it to the Scretary " of State and President, whose answers " were, *that having entered the American* " *service, and claimed its protection, they* " *were to be considered as citizens, and* " *therefore could not be given up*; besides " that some, he understood, were impressed " men.——These applications were frequently renewed, and always the same " answers returned. At this time it was " ascertained, that *above one hundred de-* " *serters* from the British artillery actually " composed a part of the crew of the Chesapeake. The account was sent to England with a description of such men, as " could be positively fixed upon, with the " admiral's orders issued upon the occasion, " and similar accounts were transmitted to " every other quarter where the British flag " was flying. In the month of July the " Chesapeake sailed, and the occurrence of " searching her took place.——The crimping of English seamen both from the merchant service as well as from the men of " war of Great Britain, had arisen to that " height, and so far from being able to " avail themselves of *that friendly inter-* " *course, which, in a neutral country, the* " *English had a right to expect*, not a boat " could be trusted on shore from the ships " in Hampton Roads, and all communication was carried on by two pilot boats, " hired for the purpose, and manned *by* " *petty officers of his Majesty's navy*. The " officers of the Chichester were not exempt. *One, a murderer, being sheltered* " *from justice*, although at last surrendered " of his own accord; the other the gunner " of the Chichester, seduced by the lieutenant's promises of promotion in the American navy, deserted; and actually officiating in the Chesapeake frigate, met with " his death; a circumstance totally dropt " in the account given of this affair by " Commodore Barron or his officers, as " well as the three other seamen who were " killed, and who were all Englishmen and " deserters. The men taken by the Leopard are all of that description, and one in " particular, belonging to the Halifax, had " not only received the king's bounty, but " seventeen pounds additional, given by this " province.—There is no doubt but that if " the Leopard could have *identified them* " *by some of their own officers*, many of the " Chichester's as well as the Zenobia's men " would have been found, as the prisoners " have since confessed they were on board; " but as the captain of the Leopard could " only *identify* those whose officers were " on board, and actually recognized them, " *they were suffered to remain*."——In the " former Number we mentioned, that Admiral Berkeley had promised a pardon to " all deserters from his Majesty's ships in " the American seas, on their immediately " returning to their duty. The following " is a copy of this paper, which, we are " happy to hear has, to a great degree, been " productive of the desired effect:"——

" " BRITISH SEAMEN. As the hearts of all " " true British seamen are, like their native oak, honest, tough, and unchange- " " able, and never can be induced to " " countenance hostilities against Old England, the Admiral and Commander in " " Chief of his Majesty's squadron on " " this coast, proclaims a free and unqualified pardon to all those deluded " " men (mutineers excepted) who have " " been induced to quit his Majesty's ships " " of war, on condition they return im- " " mediately to their duty—and every " " other British seaman, who shall voluntarily enter for his Majesty's service " " shall receive the full and additional

" " bounties, upon joining any of his Ma-
" " jesty's ships. Applying for convey-
" " ance to his Britannic Majesty's Coun-
" " suls, so that he may be sent to Halifax.
" " ——Given under my hand, this 14th
" " July, 1807, at Halifax, Nova Scotia.
" " ——G. C. BERKELEY." —— The reader will recollect, perhaps, that I stated, that, in our treaty of amity and commerce with America, the only stipulation, which could be considered as at all useful to us, in return for many greatly useful to the Americans, was that which provided for safe entry and security of our ships of war, during the times that might be necessary for them to victual, or repair, in the American ports; and, I observed, that this stipulation was a mere trap to catch us, to inveigle us to our injury, unless our *seamen* as well as ships had security provided for them. I put the case of a ship, run aground by her crew, and asked what use this treaty would be to us, if in such a case, the crew could, with impunity, be protected by the American government. It happens, that two of our ships, from which the seamen were inveigled, had actually put in in a state of *distress*; that one ran ashore, and that the other was stranded off the capes of Virginia. In this situation, their seamen went on shore for various purposes, they were robbed of those seamen, and that, too, observe, by an officer of the United States, at a rendezvous openly kept for the purpose! Call you this *amity*, Messrs. Whitbread and Perry? Is it possible to live in amity with a nation so acting?——A *murderer*, too, was sheltered from justice, an act in express violation of the treaty; and, if we could come at *all* the particulars, I venture to say, that a more abominable scene never was exhibited.——Now, as to the *dangers* of war with the American States, I need say no more about them; but I will not deny myself the pleasure of inserting some observations of a writer at Boston, published there in August last; and, without pretending that this writer speaks the sentiments of all his countrymen, I think I may fairly conclude, that he has confirmed my opinion, expressed upon the arrival of the news of the search, and that was, that the good sense of the best of the people of that country would, in the end, prevail.——" It is
" said that Great Britain not only pleads
" her established laws, with regard to her
" right to native Britons, but that her exis-
" tence would, at this time, be endangered
" by a contrary principle. Where is the
" impropriety of attending to her reasons?
" The right of self-preservation, if it be
" demonstrated, must be acknowledged the
" highest of all rights. Where is the evi-
" dence that the views of her government
" are hostile? Why is it said that " an
" eye ought to be fixed" on those who offer
" to question or reason, unless it is feared
" that we may discover justice, and that
" our true interest does not lie in the course
" some are so zealous to pursue. We sin-
" cerely wish that an impartial eye may
" be fixed on all; and, as if to open our
" eyes, it seems ordered by providence, that
" Spain should at this time commit another
" outrage, as gross and insulting as that,
" at worst, offered by Great Britain—she
" has seized our national arms. We do
" not understand that she claimed the pro-
" perty as her own, or condescended to
" make any previous application to govern-
" ment, much less that her existence de-
" pended on the principle. But it is no
" crime in government to be quiet on this
" occasion. There does not appear to be
" any spirit of resentment existing, nor are
" the people called upon to display it. The
" true American, it might be supposed,
" would be equally sensible to insult, from
" whatever quarter it came; would be
" equally free from blind passion on one
" side, and base servility on the other.——
" A comparison is frequently made between
" our revolutionary war, and a war which
" we may now wage with Great Britain,
" and an inference is drawn, that because
" we obtained an honourable peace in the
" former case, a like result may now be
" expected.—This is very flattering to our
" pride, and if like most vain people, *we*
" *listen only to those who flatter us, it will*
" *be vain to attempt to reason with us.*——
" But it should be recollected that there is
" not the smallest analogy or resemblance
" in the objects or mode of warfare between
" our last war, and any future one with
" the same power. In the former case,
" the war was merely *defensive*: not to be
" *subdued* was our *only* object, and was all
" the victory we had to boast of. Even
" that result would have been uncertain,
" or at least procrastinated, had not three
" of the most powerful nations of Europe
" been our Allies in the struggle.——Great
" Britain too, committed errors which fa-
" voured the issue of the war aud which
" she could not in any future war be ex-
" pected to repeat. She despised her ene-
" my too much. She made too feeble ef-
" forts at first. It was not till she had been
" at war with us four years, that she
" attempted to defeat our predatory excur-
" sions, and then she did it effectually. If

" *we have now more power and more re-*
" *sources*, how stand the same points with
" our proposed enemy? Her commerce is
" double what it was during the American
" war, or even two years after the peace
" of 1783. How stands *our* maritime
" strength? Our navy is but little larger
" than it was during the last war, and the
" building and equipment of ships of war
" is a work of time and difficulty. Because
" Great Britain did *not conquer* our country
" by land, does it follow that *we can con-*
" *quer her at sea?*——Where then is the
" analogy, between the last and *proposed*
" war? But it is said we have ten times
" as much specie—this is much doubted.
" We have undoubtedly five and perhaps
" ten times as much capital. But where
" is it? One hundred millions upon the
" ocean, ready to enable our enemy to carry
" on the war—wholly unprotected, and
" out of our power to protect it."——This is too sound to be rejected by a *majority* of the people of America. Certain fraudulent debtors, to whom another war would afford another opportunity of cheating their silly creditors, may see good in a war with England; and, as many of them have too much weight in public affairs, I should not be altogether disappointed at seeing a war *begun*; but, it would not last long. The Northern States, inhabited, in general, by industrious and honest men, would never suffer the calamities of war for the mere purpose of favouring the views of their fraudulent fellow citizens of the South.—— I repeat my opinion, that *there will be no war*, unless our ministers *yield*; and, then, in a short time, war between the two countries *must* come.

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*** The magnitude of the Parliamentary History, the great labour and expense attending it, and the comparatively small number of copies, which, to avoid serious risk, it has been thought advisable to print, render it necessary, thus early, to adopt precautions calculated to prevent any broken sets remaining on hand at the conclusion of the work. A copy, therefore, of this Notification will be attached to, or delivered with, each copy of the THIRD Volume, and no person can be permitted to purchase the FOURTH Volume, unless he produce to the publisher the said Notification; which, and which only, will be considered as a satisfactory proof of his having purchased the former Volumes.

Vol. IX. of the Parliamentary Debates, comprising the period from the 5th of March to the close of the First Session of the Fourth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, will be ready for delivery on Saturday next. Complete sets from the commencement in 1803, may be had of the Publishers.

EDINBURGH REVIEWERS.

SIR;—You are aware no doubt that a violent attack has been made upon you in an article of the last Edinburgh Review understood to be written by Mr. Jeffrey, the person principally concerned in that work. You are accused of inconsistency, and much labour has been bestowed in a search into all the Porcupines and Registers you have edited, to contrast opinions delivered at former periods with those given by you lately. I leave it to you to defend yourself on this head, with a single observation, that it is not in the least wonderful if a periodical writer obliged to write on the impulse of the moment and to send what he has written immediately to the press, should appear to be thus at variance with himself, nor need he be ashamed to own that his opinions have changed upon a change of circumstances, on maturer reflection or better information.— But, granting that your former and latter writings and opinions are at variance, your inconsistency falls vastly short of Mr. Jeffrey's, who is in opposition to himself in different parts of the very same article and in the same number of his review, and who rails at you for what he is himself guilty of in the same breath. It is highly improper, he says, to speak disrespectfully of the king and his family. Quoting what you have said of our commanders and particularly the commander in chief, he intimates his concurrence thus, " we have no quarrel " with Mr. Cobbett for that opinion," which I venture to pronounce is saying *sneakingly*, all that you have said on the subject *manfully*.

Observe what this respectful and well bred gentleman says in another article of the very same number " these are not times to pay " *foolish* compliments to *kings or the sons of* " *kings*. If the people of this country are " solely occupied in considering what is " personally agreeable to the king, without " considering what is for his permanent " good and for the safety of his dominion, " it does appear to us quite impossible that " *so mean and so foolish a people* can escape " that destruction which is ready to burst " upon them." Did you ever say any thing stronger than this, Mr. Cobbett?— You have said that considering who we have for commander in chief and commanders generally, and the strength of our armies (including the volunteers surely) you are not afraid of invasion or at least of the country being subdued; upon which Mr. Jeffrey asks, Whether any man capable of serious counsel or proper feeling could possibly conceive such a crisis of such a country as a suitable object for derision or for such *asinine* attemps at irony and humour as are exhibited in this passage? Now, I beg leave to retort the question, not omitting the delicate term *asinine* when I refer you to the article before alluded to beginning " if ever a na- " tion exhibited symptoms of downright " madness or utter stupidity we conceive " these symptoms may be easiy recognized " in the conduct of this country upon the " Catholic question." Take notice that the charge of madness and stupidity is made against the majority of both houses of parliament, not to speakof the sovereign and against a decided majority of the people of England at large, and pray read the sequel about a man in a high fever with a pain in his great toe which was certainly intended for humour; who the " *mourn-* " *ful and folly stricken blockhead*" is, I will not say, though I think I can guess, and as Mr. Jeffrey says of you on different occasions "*per-* " *haps* I don't differ from him" in the whole of this article; though I dislike his *sneaking* " perhaps."— According to Mr. Jeffrey, the tendency of your late writings is to create popular discontent, and what is the tendency of his writings whenever he enters on the actual State of the Nation? You and he write in different styles, but there is really nothing stronger, put more home or more intelligible to the meanest capacity in your Register than in Mr. Jeffrey's review. The picture of the country drawn by both is in high colours and equally alarming. You must not, Mr. Cobbett, speak of placemen and pensioners, but Mr. Jeffrey may be allowed, it seems, to exclaim " How melan- " choly to reflect that there would be still " some chance of saving England, from the " general wreck of empires, but that it may " not be saved because one politician will " lose £2000 a year and another £3000, a " third a place in reversion, and a fourth a " pension for his aunt? Alas! these are " the powerful causes which have always " settled the destiny of great kingdoms " and which may level England to the dust." And again Mr. Jeffrey states " we suppose " we calculate moderately when we say " that the king and his ministers have now " the disposal of offices to the value of 12 " millions yearly. The expence of collect- " ing the taxes was calculated ten years " ago at six millions. We do not know how " to estimate the value of all the appoint- " ments in the navy, the army, the church &c. " but it appears to us that they must be much " underrated if they are only averaged at an " equal sum. This is enormous."— But Mr. Jeffrey's great ground of quarrel with you is your speaking irreverently of the house of commons, "an institution from which no " good man would wish to alienate the affec- " tion or respect of the country." He admits that the constitution has some how or other fallen off its ancient hinges, but then it has fallen on other hinges more pleasant and more easily oiled. He has made a discovery the most consoling, that instead of the legislature being of old composed of three distinct parts or estates which served to balance and check one another, the British constitution consists of three parts as before, *but these are all to be found assembled in the House of Commons*. The placemen and those members who are put in by the treasury influence represent the executive government, those chosen by the influence of the nobles and great families represent the aristocracy, and the remainder chosen by popular elections or by boroughs which are bought or bribed, the independent representatives of the people. Thus the voice of all descriptions of men are to be heard in that house and we are the freest and happiest people in the world, governed and burdened only by laws of our own making. Why then attempt to make people discontented with this admirable constitution! How dreadful to think that discontent may lead to a change or to a revolution! —Though I am satisfied from Mr. Jeffrey's writings on such subjects, that he is a shallow and timid politician, an *anile* alarmist (to borrow another of his epithets), yet being also satisfied from his writings on other subjects, that he is a man of abilities and information, it is utterly impossible that he can be serious in affirming the above to be a just re-

presentation of the house of commons or such as the people ought to be satisfied with. It is a silly attempt to deceive, to veil a deformity which cannot be concealed and to defend what he must be conscious is indefensible upon the principles of the constitution. When he has thus concentrated the three branches of the legislature in one house, he wishes us to forget, I suppose, that there is still a house of lords, too; so that the nobility, besides their *salutary* influence in the lower house exercised by their deputies, retain all their former constitutional influence and power by sitting themselves in the upper, and the sovereign still has his constitutional veto besides having his representatives so happily for the people sitting amongst their proper representatives. Mr. Jeffrey's taste will be offended perhaps if I remind him of the proverb that "two to one are odds at "foot ball." According to him, though the representatives of the people properly speaking are few, yet their voice is thus heard; which he seems to think is enough though it has no effect in the house. Yes, it is heard out of doors; thanks to the news-paper reporters: only shut the doors of the gallery and you may as well restrict the number of the house of commons to 40 treasury members. Is it to the gallery or the house that the patriotic members now address themselves?—But, is it possible that Mr. Jeffrey can be ignorant that it is said there are members, and not a few who do not come under any of *his* three classes. The fourth class I will not attempt to describe; but, let them be added to the acknowledged treasury members and what figure will Mr. Jeffrey's independent popular set make?—Hear Mr. Jeffrey: "there "certainly are many men whose *private ho-* "*nour* is unimpeachable who sit for venal "boroughs," [charming distinction between private and public honour] "how this is ma- "naged we do not exactly know. *Whether* "*the frequency of the transaction has lega-* "*lized it in the ideas of the world, like the* "*orchard thefts of school boys and the plun-* "*der of border chieftains of old*, or whether "the seat is bought for the *young patriot* as "a living is bought for a young priest, while "they themselves are kept pure, we really "don't pretend to understand." Mr. Jeffrey expresses no indignation against such infamous traffic. *Every thing is for the best*, with him, *in this best of all possible worlds*; or at least it is the duty of public writers such as you and him to say so for fear of breeding discontent as that may lead to revolution.—I shall make but one more quotation from Mr. Jeffrey. After repeatedly admitting that there are too many placemen in the house of commons though he contends that a few are necessary and wholesome, he says, "*placemen we think are better in par-* "*liament than any where else.*" I wish he would condescend to explain this; for I confess it appears to me at present that the sentiment is equally stupid and profligate.—Go on, Mr. Cobbett, in spite of the Edinburgh reviewers, who amidst all their abuse are obliged to confess, *that the circulation and popularity of your journal are upon the whole very creditable to the country*; that it should be so and yet not creditable to yourself, is just another of Mr. Jeffrey's palpable inconsistencies. Every man of sense and virtue will applaud you, while you write *honestly* as well as boldly, which I am persuaded you have always done hitherto.—
A. B. 28*th Sept.* 1807.

DANISH EXPEDITION.

Sir;—The public anxiety being at the present moment principally directed towards Denmark, my attention has been attracted by a letter which appeared in a late number signed an Old Englishman. I find therein an apparently candid approbation of the independence of your opinion on this subject, and an equally open avowal of a difference of sentiment on his side: he applauds as a mark of manly decision the expression of your opinion, "that the attack upon Denmark was justifiable upon the plain and intelligible ground, that the measure was necessary for the national safety, and as such fit to be adopted. He upholds with you the rights of England upon the seas, but is unable to found a justification of the Danish expedition upon any right, nor "happily" (says he triumphantly) "does the British history afford an instance in practice of a similar conduct to any neutral nation under the canopy of heaven." To this refined philosophical discovery, I would wish to add another, viz. "nor does the British history afford an instance where the power of her rival, France, was become so predominant, as at the present period, and when it was less suitable to apply ordinary reasoning to extraordinary times." The writer professes to address neither fools nor knaves, he only addresses those who have no party but their country; in this latter class I presume to range myself and to disclaim all party prejudice, yet why am I, on the occasion of an exception to all former experience and situations, to take up the argument in the abstract point of view in which he is pleased to state it? "Once broadly admit (says he) the principle that natural injustice may be the source of national benefit, and the docrine of expediency

will overwhelm you as a flood."—I do not broadly admit any thing of the kind, but I assert, that it is the duty of every vigorous government to watch over, and to conduct itself according to the emergencies in which it may be engaged.—The full vindication of the steps adopted towards Denmark, rests upon the information obtained by government of the hostile measures framed at the peace of Tilsit, the public menaces of the French official paper that the Danes *should* be joined against us in shutting the Sound, and the knowledge, within recent recollection, that the Danes were made parties to a similar confederacy some years ago. What has been may be again, and therefore as an Englishman of no party, giving due credit to the government for the time being, I *do* look to them for protection, and should consider them unpardonably criminal, if, foreseeing a crisis of danger and hostile confederacy, they took no proper measures to defeat it. Every day discloses the futility of your correspondent's observations relative to the *consent* of Russia to Bonaparte's holding the *key* of the Baltic, or to the degree of estimation in which Napoleon holds the *consent* of the Russian emperor. Nor have the remarks of your correspondent any thing more solid to recommend them, when he is pleased to talk of the Danish navy as the "hulls of a dozen seventy-fours, and as many frigates," while he has the Gazette authority for there being 18 line of battle ships, 15 frigates, and 31 smaller vessels, all nearly new, together with an immense quantity of naval stores.—Whence your correspondent derives his ideas of Bonaparte's appreciating these naval treasures as trifles "not worth acquiring, at the expence of throwing into our lap the commerce and colonies of the Danes," I am at a loss to conceive, as nothing appears more perceptible to common sense, than that if he could have collected a fleet of 50 sail of the line, besides numerous frigates, Russians, Danes, Swedes, &c. to annoy us in the northern part of our islands, at the time that he was attempting an attack against the eastern, southern, and western coasts; I say that nothing could be of more utility than these said Danish hulls of ships, manned by Danish sailors, which an extensive commerce would have enabled them to supply; and if, by a prompt and decided attack, we should have intimidated the members, and broken the neck of this projected confederacy, what Englishman but must feel grateful to the vigilance of his government?—It is vastly well in your correspondent to vapour about our safety, "thank God," not depending upon the hulls of a few Danish ships, but it must be evident to every reflecting man that the expense of maintaining a fleet equal to watch the operations of a Northern Confederacy of 50 ships of the line, in addition to those at present opposed to us must be an intolerable burthen to the country. Is it then necessary in such times as these, with the experience of Danish weakness in the last war, that an English minister is to wait till the very guns are loaded against the country before he takes measures to prevent the impending mischief?—Too long, as was justly observed in His Majesty's Declaration, have we been waging an unequal war with a most inveterate foe, who scruples not to wound us through the sides of neutrals or by whatever means are in his power, while we through a tenderness for the rights of others have been practising the most general forbearance, till the several countries have, one by one, been obliged to shut their ports against us and declare for the enemy; but the righteous law of self-defence requires that we should not pursue this system to our own imminent danger, and never was there a moment more proper than the present one for exercising the means of protection dependant on ourselves alone.—No sooner were the conditions of the treaty of Tilsit made public, wherein the Russian Emperor lays himself at the feet of Napoleon, by not only sanctioning the alterations made by him in Germany but those *to be made*, than it was obvious to the most shallow observer that it would lead to a Northern Confederacy: the moment therefore that any step, even in appearance, was taken towards realising the projected confederacy, it became the duty of our ministers to cut the root of it by an instantaneous and vigorous effort in the quarter most likely to ruin it at one blow. That such will be the effect of the hostile measure adopted against the Danes I have not the least doubt, and those that live a few years will probably have to commend the foresight that by this means averted a calamity from the country.—As to the avowal, in the face of all Europe alluded to by your correspondent, "that our existence depends on a breach of "those laws which hold together the frame "of the civilised world" it is only necessary on this subject to recollect that *all Europe* as he calls it is now no other than France, and it matters not to us what interpretation she puts on our conduct; our folly in allowing so long the nominal independance of states to be a cover for her insidious designs must be now sufficiently apparent: it is time for us to awake and resort to those means of annoyance against our enemy which he has made no hesitation to use continually against ourselves.—I am, Sir, yours, &c. A PLAIN ENGLISHMAN. —— *London, 12th October*, 1807.

EXPATRIATION.

(Being S. V.'s second Letter.)

SIR,——I assure you that so far as I am personally and individually concerned in the relative situation of this United Kingdom and the United States of America, a war would affect me not more than it would Candidus or yourself. I had not when I addressed my last letter to you, Sir, nor have I now any interest to serve, but that interest which you as well as every good subject are bound to support; viz. the best interests of our country. I may be mistaken; to conviction I am open, and I shall not hesitate frankly to confess 'all my motives,' which you, I expect will, in pursuance of your promise (page 532) discover in your next Register, should such attributed motives really prove to be my ideas; but, whilst I notice your other promise to shew the consequences of my recommendation, I cannot but condemn the language of Candidus. When he used the expressions, the 'most uncivilized wretch,' and the 'most licentious of libertines,' he should have recollected that expressions such as these cannot by his adoption of them affect me; they cannot assist his cause, nor injure mine; and, I am sorry, Mr. Cobbett, that a man apparently not unacquainted with 'one of the liberal sciences,' for I acquit him of any claim to "the profession," should so far forget himself as to adopt bold assertion for argument, and scurrility instead of manly and liberal animadversion. Such as these are the men who abortively vomited from the fissures of *Alma Mater*, have cast more obloquy upon the "Learned Languages," than your observations have by some of your correspondents been held to libel them, and possessing a mere *cacoethes scribendi*, launch out unthinkingly into subjects beyond their reach, and without due consideration.—It is necessary for me to set Candidus right in some particulars, and this I deem proper to do before the publication of your next number, in which I hope to see *your* animadversions upon the evil consequences to which the adoption of my recommendation would, in your estimation, lead.—Candidus should be informed that the possession of American funded property, did not induce my letter in page 433. As he *may* presume me to be an American fund-holder or speculator, I will undeceive him. I am not nor ever was; and, if he had also given me the opportunity of stating myself not to be a *land* speculator, nor a mercantile adventurer, I could easily have satisfied him on either of those heads. Candidus must forgive me if I do not subscribe to his observation, that the doctrine I have advanced is not consistent with the safety of any nation, (509) because it may suit him to contradict it. To my doctrine, I do not find one solid objection made by Candidus, or supported by the least argument or authority. Candidus should before he had rendered the long since deceased Monsieur Pecquet, obnoxious to the charge of adopting 'revolutionary principles,' and living in a 'revolutionary age,' have ascertained from his friends who may have access to the library, annexed to the Inn where he resides, when Monsieur Pecquet flourished. It may be sufficient for me to observe, that Pecquet neither lived in a 'revolutionary age,' nor did he adopt 'revolutionary principles,' as Candidus must have known if he had ever perused his book, a copy of which is now before me, published 'à Leide aux dépens de la compagnie, anno 1758,' and that he died long before the parents of Candidus thought of being possessed of such a treasure as their eldest son. What is conformable to reason I hold not to be absurd, although Candidus expresses *his* opinion contrariwise; he complains of me certainly not in the character of a dispassionate and erudite commentator, but in terms as gentle as they are elegantly expressed to you, 'that the most uncivilized 'wretch, or the most licentious of libertines 'could not promulgate a doctrine more re'pugnant to integrity, gratitude, and huma'nity'——Than what? Why, that a British subject after amassing a sum of money, the fruits of *his own* industry, (for the puerile observation, that that sum of money may have been paid out of the hard earnings of the people, is foreign to the matter,) shall have the power of settling in America.—Now, to shew the futility of his observations, I would ask, what can prevent a man from leaving the United Kingdom and settling in America at this time; of adopting this want of integrity, gratitude, and humanity, with the exception of returning to *cut our throats*, which I deem, howsoever Candidus may view the subject, to be of that immoral and irreligious nature, that no man except Candidus could have dreamt (for in his waking moments it could not have obtruded) of such a horrible intention. I cannot see any thing to prevent a man, who, as Candidus says, may have amassed a pretty large property from shipping it off, and going with or following it to America. Tell me, Candidus, if you have drank deep of that same commentator Coke, whether you have found a law clearly and unequivocally prohibitory of removing himself and his fa-

mily, and his property, to a foreign country. And, Candidus, let me draw your attention to another view of the subject, the melancholy side of the picture. Let us suppose, a *poor* man surrounded with a large family, calling upon him but ineffectual'y, to satisfy the cravings of nature, and whose little earnings have in part gone to satisfy the rapacity of one of those stall fed objects, who, as you allude, are paid from the hard earnings of the people, whilst each passing moment advances the misery of such a family. I would ask if such a man be chained to the soil where he is born, if he cannot expatriate himself in the hope of exchanging want for plenty; misery for happiness? He may be deceived, I grant; he may leave his fruitful soil for the barren and inhospitable tracts in some parts of the interior of America; he may not profit by the exchange; but, I consider his capacity to elect his residence as indisputable. What I wish, however, to be done, Mr. Cobbett, is this. If this United Kingdom will not permit British subjects to expatriate themselves, let the law be so declared, and prevent the mischievous tendency of attempts to expatriate, which are frequently made; and if it will sanction expatriation, let such permission no longer remain in dubiety, but be clearly expressed between the United Kingdom and the United States of America.—When I referred to Coke's *dictum*, and M. Pecquet's observation, it certainly was not to shew the superiority of either, and jejune as the observation of Candidus is in this respect, I cannot pass it over. When I objected to the *dictum* of Coke as not of sufficient authority, I found not fault with him as a lawyer, nor with his decision, but I found fault with the observation as a *dictum* and not a *decision*. Candidus, if he ever becomes a member of the profession, for he seems at present to be only a member of the science, having much to learn, will hereafter know that there is more consideration given prior, and authority subsequently attached to a *decision* than a *dictum*. In fact, Candidus, know that a *dictum* is not authority. If Candidus (510) holds that the law is clear, because *incapacity* of expatriation is not mentioned in our ancient law books, and he holds this on his mere assertion, I have an equal right to hold this opinion that the law is clear and rational, because a Briton's *capacity* of expatriating himself is not laid down. Candidus should know that the executive has power by proclamation to prevent the departure of his subjects on an emergency, and consequently, that the inconvenience referred to by Candidus cannot take place, as prevention would on symptoms of a general transportation be adopted. It is unnecessary for me perhaps, to repeat for Candidus' information, that 'I am unconnected with the 'interests of a foreign country.' I have not denied that 'every subject is subservient 'to the laws,' nor have I openly declared my ignorance, by asserting that, 'when a 'man is admitted into society, he is not 'compelled to surrender a portion of his '*natural* liberty to preserve *the laws of society*.' I find not fault with the adoption of laws, but with the ambiguity of a rule of conduct. In this Candidus has also mistaken me. I will not, Mr. Cobbett, *presume* an improper motive for Candidus as he has *presumed* for me, that I am one of those who are so prone on all occasions to deprecate an American war, for I candidly declare to you my opinion, that we have forborne more with respect to America than I can deem politic; but, although I acknowledge this, I do not see why the subjects of this United Kingdom, and the citizens of the United States of America, should as Candidus thinks 'cut each others throats,' when we can settle our differences amicably. And, Mr. Cobbett, it may perhaps, be satisfactory both to you and Candidus, when I further declare my opinion, and which I could have no hesitation in supporting by argument, if you had not pointed out its accuracy, that in the event of a war, although this country would in a small degree be sufferers, America would for ever regret if any vestige of her remained as a confederate body, that fatal hour which induced her to unsheath the sword.——S. V.—*Oct.* 8, 1807.

EXPATRIATION.

(Being S. V.'s Third Letter.)

SIR,——I deemed it requisite to notice Candidus's letter as early as possible, and express my views on the subject of expatriation, which I did in mine of the 8th October. It is, therefore, unnecessary for me to enter so fully as I should have done, into my inducements for wishing the subject matter, to be clearly and unambiguously settled by the legislature of this United Kingdom, or between the executive and foreign powers.—You attribute to my doctrine the sin of ingratitude; although I do not subscribe to your opinion on that head, because my ex-

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pressions warrant not that construction; and, because, men whom I will bring to your notice of far greater ability than I can possibly pretend to enjoy or attain, sanction my sentiments with their solid arguments; yet I cannot avoid expressing my admiration at the warmth of your passions, which have led you into an ocean of rigid animadversion on my supposed motives. It seems to you to be the very acmé of ingratitude, because when I arrive at manhood I desert the services of my nurse, who may in my infancy have attended me; because, truly, I have been in the nurse's arms fed, administered to, and unremittantly attended by her, it is ingratitude in me that I do not all my life time continue in my nurse's arms. Now, really, Mr. Cobbett, when I do arrive at manhood, am I to be followed by my nurse, is she to continue these kind offices to me at a period when they are no longer necessary, and if I do not submit to those tender kindnesses, am I to be charged with a sin ten times worse than the sin of witchcraft? Have I not; without a liability to the charge of ingratitude, a right to run away (as you term expatriation) at the age of manhood from my nurse? Surely, her power ceases when I am able to elect my place of residence, just in the same manner as does the power of the Court of Chancery, the guardian protector of infants; the power of that court ceases when I attain my age of 21 years; and am I to be obnoxious to the sin of ingratitude because I do not all my life afterwards continue under the beneficent protection of that court, and remain its ward? When I attain that age, I apply to the court for my property, it is paid to me; and, although I never afterwards visit the Court of Chancery, the protector of my property in my juvenile years, am I to be derided because I do not plunge into that court every time I pass by its doors, to acknowledge submission in consequence of the care it has taken of me and my property? I do say, Sir, that were I compelled to consider myself thus placed in the situation you think I am, that I should be, not as Pecquet observes, really a slave, but infinitely worse. But, whilst I hold this doctrine, I must say that the services rendered to me in my days of helplessness, would be deeply imprinted on my mind. I should be always grateful for those services; but it is out of the power of man to prove the necessity or propriety of relapsing into or continuing a state of dependency; and if it should ever happen I were placed in battle array, opposed to that person (be that person whom it might) who had nurtured me, who had as you state fed and cloathed, and reared me up under the Divine Benediction to man's estate, I think, Mr. Cobbett, my weapon would fall from my hand, notwithstanding that self preservation as we are told, is the first law of nature. But, Mr. Cobbett, this is a situation, and a dreadful one it is, I wish no one to be placed in, and it is this situation that I am desirous, by having the law of expatriation clearly promulgated and declared, none should be placed in. If you thought me or any of your correspondents capable of writing down gratitude, you would, I am sure, animadvert upon the attempt with that glowing warmth which you so eminently possess, and which ranks so high among the human virtues; but, this is not in our nature to do.—I will now give you the opinions of some of our ancient lawyers, upon the finity of allegiance, and on gratitude, (for even lawyers, Mr. Cobbett, are not devoid of this last mentioned superlative virtue). Bracton, lib. 3. cap. 9. Fleta, cap. 2, and Stamford, fol. 37, observe that "the king is protector "of all his subjects; that in virtue of this "high trust, he is more particularly to take "care of those who are not able to take care "of themselves, consequently, of infants, "who by reason of their nonage are under "incapacities; from hence natural allegiance arises, as á *debt of gratitude which* "*can never be cancelled, though the subject* "owing it goes out of the kingdom, or "*swears allegiance to another prince.*"—— Here we see, that in the just opinion of those lawyers, although we *swear allegiance to another prince*; admitting, therefore, the right of expatriation, *the debt of gratitude* notwithstanding the dereliction of allegiance remains, *it can never be cancelled.* And, here, Mr. Cobbett, it is necessary in consequence of your observations on the word "cannot," that I explain the meaning as it is here used. It is this. The debt of gratitude *can* never be cancelled *morally or religiously*; for, in any other sense it were similar to saying that no man can commit murder, or, as you say, cannot sit in the commons or kill game without qualification; we know these things may be done without, but wrongfully, and in the former case irreligiously and immorally; that sense, however, Mr. Cobbett, your reflection must enable you to conclude, was never intended to be adopted by me. Besides, it should be recollected, that in your construction of the word 'cannot,' you make *the same power* in your case to put two interpretations of direct contrary import on the word; but, the legislature expressed and

intended only one, viz. that a man unless qualified shall not be eligible to sit in the Commons, or kill game; though he should sit or kill, not qualified; surely, the legislature cannot be said to have sanctioned this double construction. In the first place that he shall not; in the next place that he physically can; the *legislature* declares he shall not; the corporeal *man* says he shall. But, Mr. Cobbett, the *same persons* in the disabling decision, adverted to in my former communication, and enlarged upon by you; first, declare that *the character of British subject is unalienable;* next, virtually, *that it is not unalienable*; viz. the *acceptance of that of subject of another country*, bars all right to complain of the acts of the latter. Now, Mr. Cobbett, I do still maintain, notwithstanding your apostrophe on the justice of the decision, that it is inconsistent and at variance with itself, and that not all the special pleading you may be happily master of has hitherto borne you out in the opinion you declare upon it. The case which you profess to have drawn from real life, (551) but which I consider to be hypothetical, howsoever beneficial in your view its tendency may be by way of prevention of expatriation, I cannot but consider impolitic and unjust. It is *impolitic* because it forms the basis of dissention from its partiality and oppression, and it is *unjust* in this respect, that the immunities of a British subject are taken away from the man so soon as he enlists under the banners of a foreign power; but, the disabilities of a British subject still remain. Let the treatment of this miserable outcast of society as you consider him, be somewhat human; you place him in this predicament, if he has a claim upon either country for debts, you tell him he is not a subject of either country; but, if he is compelled as he would be, if resident in America to take up arms in defence of that country, against the invasion of this country, and is taken alive, he would, or, as you observe in another passage, he would deserve to be, if possible, hanged at every cross road in the kingdom. Let not such partial, impolitic, unjust, and inconsistent treatment be dealt out to this miserable wretch, who possibly, to avoid a gaol or hunger has sought an asylum in a strange land. Treat him uniformly; if you subject him to punishment when he commits an offence against his native country which he has abandoned, allow him the advantages attendant upon good conduct. But, Mr. Cobbett, I fully accord with your sentiments, that it would be well were the legislature to declare, that if a British subject does withdraw his allegiance, that all his former immunities be surrendered, and all his disabilities attendant on punishments for breach of the laws of his native country be abandoned; that he shall as you say be *for ever* disfranchised, and deprived of all immunities as a British subject, and in no respect be considered as owing any allegiance, or capable of afterwards regaining the character of a British subject. This would check emigration, and would prevent the daily frauds committed against this United Kingdom, by or under the sanction of men who are one day British subjects, and the next American citizens, and this in consequence of the former connection between this United Kingdom and the United States of America, should certainly have a prospective, and not a retrospective view. But, I differ with you, Mr. Cobbett, upon the subject of a declaratory law or stipulation in treaties. It is absolutely requisite, not out of tenderness to America, nor by reason of a justification on our part, but because we do permit expressly foreigners to become naturalized subjects of this United Kingdom. It is immaterial whether the price of admission to the privileges of a subject be 9d. or £100, with respect to the act of admission; but, it is clear that when a foreigner is naturalized, that we claim respect to our laws, though he removes to the farthest boundaries of the earth; and should this newly admitted subject journey to Otaheite, and during his residence there commit hostility against the subjects of this country, he would be amenable to the laws of his newly adopted state. I cannot, Mr. Cobbett, applaud or approve the construction put upon my former communication, it was not my object to provide for the security of persons, who in the event of war might be deemed to be subject to punishment. No, Sir, I hold that if a man withdraws his allegiance, so long as that secession continues, he shall be held to be a foreigner to all intents and purposes, in the same manner as I consider the naturalized foreigner amenable to the laws of this country, so long as this country can claim him as a subject; and if there is that indelibility attaching to a natural born British subject, let us also consistently attribute similar indelibility to a foreigner, and not trepan him to become a naturalized British subject. To act correctly we must contend for reciprocal justice. In my adoption of the term "melancholy," it entered not into my thoughts that there was any thing lurking under the expression to cavil at. My expression and meaning were, that an emigrant would not from choice place himself in the situation of a traitor, but that he might be

placed in it from compulsion, and it is this sad situation I wish to guard against; nor, can I discover that my principle admits of the constructions you are pleased to put upon it. I do not contend for the right of taking up arms against one's native country from choice, nor do I justify universal desertion, and universal parricide; (I have not hitherto, Mr. Cobbett, even adverted to the propriety or impropriety of arming against rulers,) nor, do I think that such base and unworthy doctrines, could plant themselves in the breast of any American, howsoever depraved (and depraved there are in all countries) such men might be. And, here, Mr. Cobbett, I would by the way observe, that we true born Englishmen as you and I are, are but too apt to attribute to men of that country base and unworthy motives. You may know more of their character and conduct than I can possibly be informed of. I have never suffered under their lash, and I hope I never shall; but, I will observe, that we are too prone to attribute to *native* Americans base and unworthy conduct, which has emanated perhaps, from men who have to boast their birth in North or South Britain, or Hibernia; and who, perhaps, have found it convenient to take a hasty leave of their native country; but, who through favour of fickle fortune, have somehow or other wormed themselves into situations, which enable them to animadvert without controul on your conduct and mine, were we in their power. These are the men who frequently bring the American character into disgrace, and to the *native* Americans we attribute their indefensible conduct. Men seldom if ever emigrate for their own pleasure; they do it from compulsion; their necessities induce them; their self-preservation, their very existence prompt them to leave their native country. We should not, therefore, condemn those our unfortunate fellow subjects; they deserve our tears of pity; they draw from us our compassion when we find that they are compelled to abandon that country, which has "reared them up to manhood," and that all the recollection they have towards us is, the indelible marks of gratitude imprinted on their minds, for nurturing them when they were themselves helpless; that same gratitude, Mr. Cobbett, should their removal be attended with beneficial consequences, will induce a return to their natural allegiance the first moment they are enabled to revisit us; and, I therefore, deem it to be highly impolitic to drive such men as those from our shores, even though they should be classed as prodigal sons. It is not his own interest alone which is pursued, but advantages accrue to the nation from that man who may have toiled year after year unsuccessfully here, but who in a foreign country may have enriched himself, and with himself his country. If we can attribute a worthy motive to a man, it is our duty so to do; and if motives are attributable to men, one bad, the other good, in law a rule is laid down which should be imputed to him; and I see not why, in reason, the ground work of law, the same worthy motive should not be attributed to his conduct. The ordinances of the Creator invariably tend to good ends, and man acting religiously and under the impulse of his own reason, cannot be condemned for acting conformably to principle, directing him to his own interest and with that the benefits of his country. Your concluding observation goes not only to preclude a man from a residence among foreigners, but puts an end to all intercourse with foreign nations, an intercourse not prohibited, as far as I am able to determine, by any law divine or human.—It is as much my wish, as it can be yours, to prevent men acting in the double capacity of British subject and American citizen. I cannot, Mr. Cobbett, assent to your construction of 14 and 15 Henry 8, because the Term, "*other strangers*," according to my comprehension, implies a derelection or surrender of allegiance. If it was intended to have retained the allegiance of such persons as chose to depart from their native country, it surely were sufficient to have made them liable to the payment of customs, such as "strangers," not "other strangers," paid. This, Mr. Cobbett, is the power I would that the native country should assume over its subjects, viz. in every attempt to assume the character of a subject of a foreign country, I would that this United Kingdom should boldly disown or disfranchise him, and render him incapable of ever after assuming a Proteus shape with respect to his native country, rather than partially holding him to be a subject, as in the case of friend Twister, who when he claims a benefit from his native country is told he is an American, but if he should be bold enough to commit an offence and claim to be hanged, his native country, it seems, will indulge him in his request. The word "artificer," which I held to be an indefinite and general term, if you will take the trouble to turn to the lexicographer Bailey, is expressed to be "one that professes some art or *trade*"; and though the word "trade" includes the "merchant," which is defined by that same lexicographer to be "a *trader* or dealer by

wholesale," I assure you, when I mentioned the word " artificer" in my former communication, I was not as you charge me to have been, " driving at that title": I meant only to shew, the general and extensive construction which the term was capable of admitting.—I will now state a further authority or two on the right of expatriation, and in doing so, I think I shall escape the charge of referring to revolutionary times, even from your " learned " correspondent, Candidus. Cicero saith, that the citizens of Rome might, at their pleasure, leave their freedom of citizens to become citizens of another city. In Spain it is free for any man to remove elsewhere and to be enrolled into another city: and we, too, have held out and invited foreigners to become subjects, from which by reciprocity, we should allow our subjects to become foreigners. Richard proposed unto strangers all the immunities granted unto citizens, so that they had dwelt ten years in the city. In Venice, fourteen years residence entitled a man to the privileges of a citizen, without having any other interest in the state except in certain mean offices. In Ferrara, ten years residence was required.—Vattel, book 1. chap. 19. sec. 218, says, " The natural or " original domicil is that given us by " birth, where our father had his; and we " are considered as retaining it till we have " abandoned it in order to chuse another. " The domicil acquired (adscilitium) is that " where we settle by our own choice."—And again, in sec. 220, " Many distinc- " tions will be necessary, in order to give " a complete solution to the celebrated " question, whether a man may quit his " country or the society of which he is a " member." I am afraid, Sir, if I enter so fully into this writer's observations and Wicquefort's remarks as I might deem expedient, that I should encroach upon your limits; I will, therefore, be as brief as possible. Vattel says, children have a natural attachment to the society in which they are born. They ought then to love it; but every man born free, the son of a citizen, arrived at years of discretion, may examine, if it be convenient for him to join in the society for which he was destined by his birth. If he finds that it will be of no advantage to him to remain in it, he is at liberty to leave it, preserving the sentiments of *gratitude* he owes it: every man has a right to quit his country, in order to settle in any other, when by that step he does not expose the welfare of his country. A good citizen will never resolve to do it without necessity or without very strong reasons: and, Mr. Cobbett, if you refer to sec. 225, page 98, book I, chap 19, you will find that it would not be a novel thing if this country should stipulate in treaties respecting the right of expatriation. The days of vassalage are gone by: those days in which a prince considered his subjects in the rank of his property and riches; he calculated their number as his flocks, and as Vattel adds, to the disgrace of human nature, this strange abuse is not yet every where destroyed: but, Mr. Cobbett, although I adduce authorities tending to prove the right of expatriation, yet if I could possibly conceive the least injury would arise in consequence of a promulgation of that doctrine as Candidus thinks such might be the case, I would not have canvassed the subject, and having written upon it I would have ceased; but no inconvenience can arise; I am an advocate for liberty of action, but not for licentiousness. Let us obey the laws, but let them not be ambiguous; for we not only frequently puzzle and confound our clients but ourselves.—Wicquefort, chap. xi, page 75, even goes further than I have attempted in the doctrine of expatriation; he not only asserts and proves the right of expatriation, but even that a prince may send, as his ambassador, a subject of that country to which the embassy is sent. In page 77, he adverts to the case of John Webster, in the year 1644, an English merchant, living at Amsterdam, who assisted the king with his money; his reference to this case, and his observations thereon, fully bear me out in my former remarks. " In England," says he, " the subjects have " a stronger, and more particular obligation " to their sovereign than elsewhere, by vir- " tue of the right which they call allegiance. " But that does not hinder the English " from retiring out of the kingdom without " the king's permission, and when they " have settled themselves elsewhere, neither " the king's authority, nor the laws of the " kingdom, have any further power of " them."—Now Mr Cobbett, after these celebrated authorities, tending to the right of expatriation, I do repeat the observation, that it is absolutely necessary a declaratory law be passed, or a stipulation in treaties, in general, be adopted, either permitting or disallowing expatriation. If it be deemed impolitic to allow a man to be a subject to day, to-morrow a citizen of America, and on the third day to receive him back again and suffer him to be enrolled among us as a subject; let it be boldly declared, or legislated, that a British subject once departing from his natural allegiance, will never be permitted to reassume the character of a Bri-

tish subject; and reinstated in his natural privileges and immunities, but that by such new election he forfeits all claim to the privileges of a British subject. America will not then decoy our fellow subjects, as their acceptance of American citizenship will, for ever, incapacitate them from returning again among us; and British subjects will then clearly know the predicament they voluntarily place themselves in.—I am not an advocate for dereliction of allegiance, unless from compulsion, either on the part of this country or any other; and condemn, as strong as you can disapprove of the introduction of foreigners here, but I contend for consistency. So long, therefore, as this country admits into its bosom, into its very vitals, foreigners of all nations, the very refuse and outcast of society to all the immunities of subjects, it should consistently permit its own subjects to expatriate.——S. V. *Oct.* 13, 1807.

IRELAND'S INTERNAL SITUATION.

(Being the 2d Letter of M. H.)

Sir;——In your last Register, after approving of my description of the internal situation of Ireland, you proceed to object to my recommending the introduction of manufactures into that country, as a means of bettering its condition. You say, "if my "correspondent would wish to subdue the "spirit of the people, I know of no better "way than to shut thousands of them up in "a large house, and making them work for "one man who rings them to their labour "and meals by a bell." Before I received the Register in which the above observation appeared, I had forwarded a letter to you, in which I endeavoured to prove that manufactures and commerce had been carried to excess in England; but, I am nevertheless, inclined to think that manufactures are *a blessing, and not a curse,* to any country, that is to say, when properly regulated, and kept within due bounds, so that they should not draw too many hands or too much capital from agriculture; or, in other words, prevent the sufficient supply of food. I am, however, upon all subjects open to conviction, and should you differ from me, I should therefore, thank you for your arguments to prove that I am wrong. It has been accidentally my lot to have resided in several parts of both England and Ireland, and I have taken some pains to inspect manufacturies. I mention these circumstances only to shew that I have some little advantage over those who merely read, and inquire, in making comparisons between places, whether in England or Ireland, where there are manufactures, and other places where there are none, and in comparing the condition of the labourers in different districts. I shall now proceed to observe, that those industrious labourers and their families (for I have nothing to do with the idle) who live upon the Down, or uninclosed districts, live harder (if I may so express myself,) than the journeymen manufacturers and their families, or any working people that I know of, either in England or Ireland. I shall here observe also, that in the North of Ireland, where the linen manufacture is carried on, that the lower classes were (before the French revolution) more contented and happy than the same classes in the South. I have travelled through the manufacturing counties in this kingdom, and I must say that I have seen great comfort enjoyed by the industrious, whether they were employed in the iron, cotton, woollen, glass, or any other manufacture; and if you will have the goodness to reflect, you will think this not to be improbable, as most of our manufactures follow the veins of coal, fuel therefore is absolutely to be had for little or nothing. The men, women, and children are all employed, and most of them furnish some money to purchase provision and other necessaries; I imagine, therefore, that many persons have been induced to think manufacturers poor and wretched, from their black and shabby appearances, and from the dirty look of the outsides of the cottages in all coal countries. But, Mr. Cobbett, you conclude that the introduction of manufactures into Ireland would subdue the spirit of the people. I cannot imagine that this would be the case, for, is the spirit of the people more subdued in Manchester, Leeds, *Birmingham* or *Belfast,* than in York, Winchester, Canterbury, or a hundred other towns where there are no manufactures? I have no method of proving that a manufacturer's bell may not call his apprentices to severe labour and scanty meals; but, if this is the case, the legislature *could, and surely ought,* to put a stop to such injustice. A journeyman is of course *free* to quit a manufacture if ill treated. I cannot, therefore suppose, you can wish to annihilate manufactures, but only to effect some reformation; for, I apprehend that it would be impossible that you should desire, that the *making of steam engines* should be put a stop to, and that all those wonderful inventions for the saving of labour should cease to be made use of. To break the spirit of the people of Ireland *is by no means my object,* but quite the reverse. By recommending the introduction of *useful* manufactures, I wish to encourage the people to collect in

towns: by opening a free trade between England and Ireland, *I wish to enrich both countries, to make both countries friendly towards each other, and strong to resist the enemies of the British empire.* I want by these measures to return that capital which England *drains* from Ireland by numerous channels. I want to improve the agriculture of Ireland, *which cannot be done but by encreasing the capital of that country.* I want to better the condition of the *landlords*, the *middlemen*, the *farmers*, and the *labourers.* I want that the landlords should be able to farm their lands, which they cannot now do as they chuse, to enable them to plant fences and trees, and make any sort of improvement upon their estates without being *pillaged* by the labourers. I want to employ the middlemen in trade, instead of encouraging them to become stakes for the rent of land which other men farm I want that farmers should have markets nearer home, and that they also should not *be pillaged*, that they should have a power of making fences without the fear of their being cut up and carried away for fuel by the labourers, that they should be able to grow turnips instead of potatoes if it suits them, without the dread of their being stolen. *In short, I want that all sorts of property should be respected in Ireland as much as in England.* I wish to place the lower classes in such a situation that it would be their interest not to commit theft. I want not, as was the practice of a Mr. Parkinson when in Ireland, to put a stop to petty thefts by giving those people who committed them good horse-whippings. Instead of subduing the spirit of the Irish labourers, I am desirous of releasing them from their present dependance, and of making them altogether free men. This I would do as soon as possible by dispossessing them of their lands, and paying them amply for their labour in money; they would then have a power of saying, as the same class do in England, if ill treated by the farmers, "pay me my wages and I will get work elsewhere." The farmers would then have it in their power *(which they have not at present)* to get rid of the idle and to employ the industrious. But, you have indeed, wonderfully mistaken the characters of Irish labourers, if you imagine they have any spirit to subdue. It is true, if you take them from home, they make as brave and good soldiers and sailors as any in the world; let them even come to England, where they of course receive money for labour, and can work for whom they please, and they soon adopt the English character, and to use a vulgar phrase, will not be put upon; but leave them *fastened to their potatoe gardens*, and they are the most pusilanimous, mean spirited wretches that ever inhabited the earth. Now, Sir, that they should be so is altogether natural, and it only proves that people may be either brave or cowardly just as they are managed. For the Irish labourer when at home is in perpetual dread of being punished for thefts which *he is driven by necessity to commit*, he is also in dread of being turned out of his land, which is to him an estate. In Ireland, therefore, he will flatter his superior without ceasing, kneel down to him, and either in a written petition or in words, supplicate his protection or forgiveness; and, as Mr. Parkinson says, (an extract from whose book I read in the Monthly Review, for July, 1807) suffers himself to be horse-whipped. But in England the very same man would not receive a blow from any one without returning it. After this, Mr. Cobbett, I presume you will think that there is *no danger* of breaking the spirit of the people of Ireland *by taking off the restrictions upon her trade with this country*, and by encouraging manufactures *to a certain extent.* I shall now mention, that some years since a free trade was considered to be the only thing necessary to Ireland; if at the time I allude to, it was wanted, it has been still more required since the Union, as the *drain* of capital has increased. Now, Sir, there is nothing to replace the capital which England draws from Ireland, but the profits of the provision trade and the linen trade. I conclude then, that if this continues, the more Ireland increases in population, and that population chiefly supported by the culture of potatoes, the more must Ireland increase in poverty. *The true interest of Ireland, a free trade with England*, has been completely forgotten since the Catholic claims have been discussed, which if admitted would scarcely benefit one man in five thousand. What a faint shade of difference then must there be between the situation of a Protestant and a Catholic. Buonaparté, however, takes care that the Catholics should think otherwise, by telling them that they are persecuted; but is not this the most ready way to obtain himself another kingdom? Would he be so great a fool to let slip so fair an opportunity of distracting and dividing us, that he may conquer us? But, it would be well worth while for the Catholic to reflect whether he does not enjoy every privilege that other dissenters enjoy? Whether a Protestant would not be treated as harshly if he disturbed the peace of the country as he would; and, finally, whether it would not be more to the

interest of Ireland to be *completely incorporated* with England, than governed by a king of Buonaparté's appointing.——I am, Sir, &c.——M. H.——*Sept.* 12, 1807.

IRELAND'S INTERNAL SITUATION.

(Being the 3d Letter of M. H.)

SIR;——Before I address you upon other subjects, I shall beg to offer you my mite of praise for the advice you have given in the 396th page of the 12th vol. of your Register. Your advice is truly worthy of the man who withstood the rage of an exasperated mob, rather than seem to rejoice at a peace, he was convinced was humiliating to his country.—In my last letter, I urged the Roman Catholics to reflect, whether they did not enjoy equal privileges with other dissenters, and whether it would not be of more advantage to Ireland to be completely incorporated with England, rather than have a king of Buonaparté's appointing. I do not mean to insinuate that the Roman Catholics would join the French if a landing could be effected by them, for I do not hold the same opinions that Mentor seems to entertain; he grounds his arguments upon what happened during the late rebellion, and before that pestilential and rebellious disease, caught by listening to the savage yell of equality, was cured.——I shall now proceed to observe, that the French revolution unsettled the minds of the lower classes in most countries, but where the people were in any degree oppressed, the cry of liberty and equality was most grateful. In my former letters I have endeavoured to shew, that by the mistaken policy of England, Ireland has been kept poor. No country was therefore, more open to be disturbed and conquered, by the French throwing out the bloody lure of equality than Ireland. Many ambitious men, Protestants, Roman Catholics, and *Atheists*, some of whom, no doubt were, and still are, in the pay of France; thought, and I suppose, still think, to obtain power. These people previous to the rebellion, began by every possible art to poison the minds of the Irish, and for fear those they contrived to seduce should fly from their cause, they bound them by oaths, in this manner they chained together the weak, the enthusiastic, the ignorant, and the thoughtless, in short, great part of the population of Ireland. After this operation was completed, by a system of terror they forced many unwilling wretches to attack houses, seize upon arms, and even to commit murder; and, finally, to assemble in large bodies for the purpose of open rebellion. Now, Sir, the French party we have heard of, in all probability were the organizers of the late rebellion, and I cannot help thinking, that having found liberty and equality not quite so palatable as heretofore, they have changed their ground, and are endeavouring to stir up strife between those who think differently with respect to religion; this of course they do in order that Ireland should offer an easy conquest to Buonaparté, who doubtless has promised his friends an ample reward for their services. If this circumstance could be pointed out to all classes of the Irish, surely, the Protestants and Roman Catholics would unite in preserving peace, and would not be again duped into shedding each others blood, to promote the selfish and ambitious views of Buonaparté and his friends the Atheists; but, on the contrary, would join in soliciting England for *solid advantages for all, instead of empty honours for a few.* The boon which the Christians will, I doubt not, shortly lay claim to is, that England *should enrich and strengthen the empire,* by taking off all restrictions upon trade between the two islands, and that those taxes now levied by port duties, should in future be levied in direct taxes, to the extent that Ireland truly may appear to have abilities to pay: England having a power to increase those taxes in proportion to the increase of capital in Ireland, till they are fairly equal to the taxes raised in England upon an equal extent of country.—I shall now proceed to take notice of a proposition, which a correspondent of yours (Mentor) thinks is incontrovertible, that "if Ireland is conquered by Buonaparté, England will also be conquered by him." This I completely deny, for if England was put to the test she would surely prove herself at least as brave as the French at the early periods of the revolution; and were example necessary to *give courage to Britons,* they would recollect the for ever glorious conduct of the people of Buonaparté's native island.—In consequence of such opinions as Mentor's being frequently advanced, we are obliged to endure the insulting threats and vauntings of the enemy. My opinion is, that Great Britain is capable of defending herself *singly* against the *whole world. Give the people but arms, and an increased supply of the necessaries of life by cultivating the waste lands, and they may laugh at invasion.* I flatter myself that my opinion will gain ground instead of Mentor's; at the same time that I consider it my duty, *and the duty of every Englishman,* to claim for Ireland those benefits which I have endeavoured to point out in my letters to you. *As I take it for granted that England will shortly think it her interest to act with justice, and at the*

same time with firmness towards Ireland, I shall proceed to make some observations which my former letters seem to render necessary; but first, I shall again repeat some things which I am anxious to impress on the minds of the English and Irish landlords. 1st. That their having permitted their tenants to cultivate *a cattle crop* (potatoes) as *food for man* has been injurious to their country. 2d. That giving land to labourers for the purpose of raising food for themselves and their families, (and thereby making them farmers of the worst sort) has done much mischief to Ireland; and, consequently, if pursued would be equally hurtful to England. 3d. That the great encouragement given to the growing potatoes in England within these few years, has introduced the Irish system of cultivating potatoes and grain without stock; and in some instances, the Irish plan of letting land to labourers has been adopted. Now, Sir, in England, Irish farming has not been so long introduced that it would be very difficult to prevent its being discontinued; the culture of potatoes ought to be entirely stopped, or at least farmers might be prohibited from sending any roots to market, and therefore, obliged to feed stock on potatoes at home, should they chuse to cultivate them in preference of other roots. But, as I presume that the quantity of *food alone* has been rather increased of late years, by growing roots to feed man, and, as I indeed, know that the lower classes though they were at first against being fed upon potatoes, now not only have submitted to the alteration in their diet, but depend much upon considerable quantities being sent to market, it would, therefore, be dangerous even in England to check the culture of potatoes for the supply of food for the poorer manufacturers in towns too suddenly; but it may be found necessary to wait till other food is produced by the cultivation of part of the waste lands.——In Ireland, Sir, I do not doubt that nearly three parts out of four of the population are fed upon potatoes; it would, therefore, be the greatest absurdity to suppose, that the present plan of agriculture could be immediately altered; but, on the contrary, it is absolutely necessary not to overturn the wretched system with violence. I shall therefore, take the liberty humbly to recommend it to Irish landlords, to begin first by prohibiting their tenants from letting land to labourers, or, in other words, from making them little farmers. To prevent the farmers also, from cultivating potatoes with the spade, farmers might grow a sufficient quantity for their own use, and for the supply of their labourers, by making use of the plough in every process necessary for bringing these roots to perfection, and getting them out of the ground; an equal quantity of potatoes could be produced upon a less quantity of ground, and with considerably less labour, by using the plough instead of the spade. The farmer could agree with his labourers to give them a certain quantity or weight of potatoes, for a certain number of days work; and when they could afford it, and markets for butchers meat, and shops for the sale of bread, bacon, cheese, and other necessaries were established in Ireland more generally, they could pay them in money. Now, whether there shall or shall not, be markets and shops generally established in Ireland, depends on the will of England, for it is impossible that there can be a demand for butchers meat till people collect in towns to employ themselves in manufacturing the raw materials, which *could* be produced upon the lands of Ireland; and it would be useless for them to think of collecting together for the purpose of manufacturing, unless they could be certain of a sale for the articles they made up at first, nearly for ready money, which they could obtain no where else but in England to any extent. I shall now observe, that the next object should be to apply to England for money to work coal mines, and in truth, England should not consider any money disbursed for such a purpose as a gift, but as a debt long due to Ireland. If, however, this should be refused, a company could be formed, in which it is to be hoped some English capitalists would join. Men who understood mining might be obtained from England, and likewise steam engines for the use of the pits. After coals were raised and become somewhat cheap, planting trees and fences might be ventured upon, the growing artificial grasses, and the gradual introduction of the practice of giving roots to sheep and cattle, should be encouraged; the settling people in towns should be promoted by granting building leases upon fair terms; every possible encouragement should be given to the manufacture of the wool of the country, and all those other raw materials, which lands under good management would produce. When coals were raised in considerable quantities, it would of course be an advantage to establish iron manufactures, and other manufactures common in England would without doubt follow; the only thing then to be thought of would be not to employ more people in manufacture than could be easily fed without taking from the other necessaries of life; the encouragement of

the manufacture of wool grown in the country, not in Spain, should be the chief object; for it is not at all improbable, that employing so many hands in the working up such quantities of Spanish wool and cotton, together with the absurdity of supplying all the world with useless baubles, is now beginning rather to injure than serve England. —As yet, Mr. Cobbett, I have said nothing relative to the linen manufacture; but, I shall now advance rather a singular opinion, namely, that it is unfit for Ireland. My reason for thinking so is, that I imagine such land as the land even in the north of Ireland, would be better employed in the growth of wool, or, to speak differently, in producing food and cloaths, and tallow, instead of being applied to the growing of flax, which is the most exhausting of all other crops; insomuch, that I have heard, that it renders the land incapable for a considerable time, of producing any thing unless manured at a great expence; also, from the vast number of hands employed, scarce any machinery being used before the article is offered for sale, beginning with the grower of the flax, and ending with the retail dealer, one must naturally suppose, that the profit obtained by each individual must be very inconsiderable; on these accounts therefore, at a future period, it would be surely to the advantage of Ireland to exchange woollens for linens with one of those countries (for instance Russia) that had more and inferior land to spare for the growing of flax. Notwithstanding all that I have said against the linen manufacture, I consider it as a very lucky circumstance that Ireland has been permitted to manufacture this *one* article, and send it to England freely for sale; for without this it would have been impossible for Ireland to have stood against the remittances she has been obliged to make to England on various accounts.—Now, Sir, as I wish sincerely to give every possible information with regard to the situation of Ireland without the smallest impartiality, I shall take the liberty of mentioning to you some observations I made a few years ago, relative to the state of religion in that country. I shall begin with the North, where I resided for some time; the lower and the middle classes (observe, Mr. Cobbett, there is a sort of middle class in the manufacturing parts of Ireland) are composed generally of Presbyterians intermixed with a few Roman Catholics; the higher class are all of the Church of England; all seemed when I knew that part of the country, to concur in a strict observance of religious duties on Sunday; and, I must confess, that I believe that this was brought about chiefly by the example of the Presbyterians; however that may be, the North certainly appeared to me, (who was well acquainted with the South, and also with England), to be the most habitable part of Ireland. There were few thefts committed, and the lower classes never flattered in order to deceive; but, after all, I must own that I could not become much enamoured with the manners of the people, from observing many traits in their character, which proved that religion had by no means eradicated selfishness from their disposition. As to determining upon the state of religion in a capital city, or in large towns, that is a matter of infinite difficulty—a popular preacher (for instance, such a man as Kirwan was), making so complete an alteration for the time being. I shall, therefore, confine myself to stating what I have happened to observe in the country parts of the South. The Roman Catholics there outnumber the Protestants very considerably; the Catholics are extremely punctual in their attendance at mass on Sundays, and also on Saints' days. On these Saints' days (which take labourers from employment, I believe nearly one-fourth of the year, and consequently deducts much, one should suppose, from the riches of the country) labourers will on no account work; but, they will after having been to mass, either play, swear, lie, or drink to excess, or promote or engage in any sort of riot or *dispute*. Now, Sir, drunkenness is a vice which the Irish high and low are extremely addicted to; but, I leave others to judge, whether the higher class take example from the lower, or the lower from the higher, not doubting, that when it is perfectly ascertained which leads the way, that class feeling themselves ashamed of their conduct, will immediately set about making a thorough reformation. I shall now mention, that the church service is as well performed in Ireland as in England; but, notwithstanding, very few of the country gentlemen attend church, their employment on Sunday being usually riding and crossing the country, by way of practice for themselves and their horses. Possibly, Mr. Cobbett, because they have no time to spare for that purpose during the week. I shall refrain from saying any thing more respecting the moral conduct of both Protestants and Catholics, for fear the stating plain matters of fact may appear like ill nature; for, truly, I am not inclined to wound the feelings of either party, but merely to shew how little reason there is to dispute about religion in the South of Ireland; but, on the contrary,

how much better it would be for all of those who call themselves Christians, to endeavour to exhibit better examples of morality to each other than at present.——I am, Sir, &c.—M. H.

POOR LAWS.

National Education.

Sir,——Statutes of restriction are more efficacious than statutes of compulsion. How much easier, speedier, and more agreeable is the method of collecting a revenue by stamps, without which, persons are restricted from possessing a valid title to their property, than by cesses and assessments backed by all the cohorts of magistrates and tax-gatherers. Let us apply this. An act is passed to render it compulsory upon parishes to provide schoolmasters, and all the paraphernalia of schools. The wise folks will probably turn out against, and in the end procure the repeal of this law. Why? Because they are compelled to pay for what in their eyes will not excite one simmer in the pot, for the education of other people's children. On the other hand, an act is passed containing a principle restricting any person from voting at an election, unless he can prove to the satisfaction of the court, that he can read the oath tendered to him, and write his assent in full to it. This becoming the only qualification necessary to constitute a voter, would induce a general exertion throughout our common people to acquire that degree of learning, which would impart to them a privilege so flattering to their pride, and so agreeable to their feelings of self interest. Our members of parliament would then from interested motives be induced to keep some of those honied promises which they diffuse so generally on the eve of an election. The representative would then be known to his constituents, not known only through the medium of the newspapers, or your valuable Register, but known as one active in promoting national education. He would not be under the necessity of sending his lady to lower the dignity of her sex, in mixing with his offal supporters, she would be better employed in raising it, by a condescending attention to the minds of their infants.—If good is better than bad, the man who is gifted with the means by education of distinguishing the good from the bad, is surely better qualified to vote (and his vote will more probably prove of more service to his country) than he who from ignorance leaves it to chance, whether he chuses the good from the bad—In this country (Ireland) where forty shilling freeholders bear the sway, the advantages would be inestimable and immediate. And, surely, if it often happened, as it happened lately, where some *independent* freeholders being driven down from the mountains of Mayo into court; by mistake voted for their landlord's opponent instead of the landlord himself, (who was a candidate) owing to a similarity in their names, would not the means of discrimination in the constituent be *serviceable* to the representation?——Hibernicus.

FUNDING SYSTEM.

Sir,——If I understand your correspondent C. S., he maintains in p. 446, that paying off the national debt of 600 millions, (and of course relieving the nation from the annual payment of 30 millions, which is the amount of the dividends) would raise the taxes from 70 to 490 millions, and that human nature would scarcely be able to endure the wretchedness and torment of the case.—Now, as the liquidation of the debt would be attended with such direful consequences, I supposed that an addition to it would no doubt be beneficial; but, near the bottom of the same page, C. S. proves that to go on with the funding system would produce the same effects to the public as the reduction of the debt. To me this doctrine is passing strange.——W. B.—*Sept.* 26, 1807.

KILMAINHAM PENSIONERS.

Sir,—As I conceive the following hints to be strictly within the compass of your very laudable plan, I beg you will be pleased to grant a few columns of your Political Register, for the purpose of endeavouring to ameliorate the condition of a meritorious class of his majesty's subjects, with that generosity of spirit, which induced you on a former occasion, to afford six pages to the service of the *Heir Apparent of the Royal House of Sheridan*.—They contain no flowery diction, or hair-spun superfluities; but a plain, simple statement of facts, and sound reasoning, from the pen of a time-worn veteran.—It is, no doubt, Sir, still fresh in your recollection, that during the late administration, large sums were drawn from the public purse, for the avowed purpose of "*rewarding merit*;" among other purposes to which such sums were applied, was that of augmenting the pensions of such men as had been discharged on the British establishment, and were admitted out-pensioners of Chelsea College. Had the equally deserving veterans of Kilmainham Hospital, been included in the grant, it would have reflected no small degree of honor on the heads of his majesty's ministers for th.

time being; but as the case now stands, its principal tendency is that of sowing seeds of discord between the two establishments.—Why that respectable body of men should be totally neglected, is a matter of astonishment, not only to the pensioners themselves, but to the nation in general; and at present stands unaccounted for; as no reason has been offered to the public to justify that very extraordinary proceeding.—That they have in every respect, been equally serviceable to the state, is an incontrovertible fact: and the annals of the East and West Indies, the American war, the siege of Gibraltar, &c. &c. all bear ample testimony, to that zeal with which they have served their country, amidst the greatest accumulated sufferings; I have no reason to doubt, sir, that you have often been an eye-witness to scenes in America, that would stagger the credulity of our Coffee-house politicians —During the ever to be remembered glorious defence of Gibraltar, under the immortal General Elliott, several of the still surviving pensioners of Kilmainham Hospital, cheerfully submitted to the most unparalleled hardships, during a siege of twenty-two months, and blockade of nearly three years; during which, it may with great propriety, be justly said, they drank the very dregs from the vials of human misery; the most severe hunger, hard duty, repairing the batteries, under an incessant fire of cannon and mortars; storming the enemy's works; removing stores; supplying the batteries with powder, shot and shells; drawing cannon and old ships sides up the hills; on which duty I have frequently beheld 150 or 200 men harnessed, and performing the work of horses, and am sorry, for the sake of truth, to be obliged to declare, that they too frequently received treatment not the most humane from their merciless drivers; but as a tribute of justice to the mouldering dust of the brave general, must say, that he ever looked on such misconduct as extremely reprehensible, and punished it as the nature of the case required. Want of rest and excessive fatigue, daily produced the opened graves of their departed companions in distress, to the envious eyes of the wretched emaciated survivors; conscious that every death laid an additional burden on their shoulders.—The above is a faint statement of facts, that came within the compass of my own knowledge; having not only seen, but in a great measure experienced the horrors incident to that long protracted siege —The surviving comparative few, after receiving the thanks of the three branches of the legislature for their faithful service, were relieved and sent home, and the unserviceable of the different regiments, were admitted pensioners of Chelsea and Kilmainham Hospitals; several of which on the latter establishment, still smarting under their wounds, with 4¾d. per day, continue to drag on a miserable existence, probably with large families friendless and unprotected, a prey to misery and want.—As Gibraltar was the part in which providence in its wisdom required my service during the American war, I have dwelt principally on my own experience; but not the least shadow of a doubt remains on my mind, but British soldiers led by *able generals*, will ever be found capable of surmounting almost every obstacle, however dangerous, to which they may be opposed; and for which reason no difference should be made in rewarding their service, according to their respective rank.—I believe it to be a position which but few men will attempt to deny, that the rejection of the Catholic Bill, and the vociferated cry of "*no popery*" have not to the greatest wish'd for extent conciliated the minds of the Irish; however lavish some individuals may have been in asserting the loyalty and peaceable demeanors of the inhabitants of that part of the united kingdom.—The rebellion of 1798, with the numerous acts of atrocity committed since that period, and of which the newspapers continue to give the most alarming daily details, down to the present time; the passing of the insurrection bill; the keeping a large standing army in the island; which added to my own knowledge of the people, through the medium of a seven years residence among them, all tend in the strongest terms, to convince me that government does not place the most unlimited confidence in the above fraudulent assertions.—On the other hand, it has been asserted from respectable authority, that a French party exists in Ireland; if such should be the actual state of the case, what human foresight can penetrate within the veil?—Would any single one of the above assertors of loyalty and peaceable behaviour be answerable, at the expence of his head, that no serious consequences could possible arise from such existence?—Would he take upon himself to be answerable under the above forfeiture, that the British army stationed in Ireland will never be called upon to act offensively against their fellow subjects in arms?—Certainly not.—There is not a single member of the Imperial Parliament, that would be guilty of such a flagrant act of insanity.—No, no, Mr. Cobbett, though many people may be found base enough to

deceive their sovereign, and the nation in general, yet, believe me, sir, they are careful how they deceive themselves. —During the late rebellion in Ireland, the difference of pensions paid to Chelsea and Kilmainham out-pensioners were of a very trivial nature, particularly if the latter resided in Ireland, where he had twelve pence for his shilling. The British soldier displayed his courage on all occasions from a consummate knowledge, that if the chance of war should deprive him of the use of a limb, or be otherwise disabled, he should be nearly on a footing with his brethren of Chelsea; there existed no animosities between the pensioners of the two kingdoms, tranquility and content reigned predominant—How stands the case now?—An act of union between the two kingdoms since that period has taken place, through which the out pensioners of Kilmainham hospital, entertained the most lively hopes of their being placed on an equal footing with those at Chelsea; but a sad reverse has been the actual state of the case.—An act of the imperial Legislature, has placed a British militia-man, whose eyes never beheld a foreign shore, or ever fired a shot but at a dead object, and probably disabled in the act of robbing an hen roost, as the leading feature of the picture, where at his ease he smokes his pipe; while the Kilmainham pensioner after receiving the thanks of the King, Lords and Commons for his faithful service, is seen in the back ground, covered with scars, on crutches, with his $4\frac{3}{4}$d. per day, in a degraded state,—begging; from the above statement of facts, is it reasonable to suppose, that a British soldier will, in future, act with that degree of spirit and energy, usual on former occasions; in a country, where probably fathers, uncles brothers, cousins or acquaintances point each to their respective scars, or hoary heads, with streaming eyes, and uplifted hands, bewail the ingratitude of a nation, once celebrated, and unrivalled throughout the known world, for its impartial care of disabled, and worn out veterans. From the commencement of the French revolution to the present day, it has been my fortune, or more strictly speaking, misfortune to have anticipated most of the leading features of the affairs on the continent, nearly as they have fell out; and can assure you, Sir, nothing would give me a more singular pleasure, than to be able to place my hand on my heart, and solemnly declare, that it was my opinion no evil could ensue from the neglect of advancing the pensions of the Kilmainham out pensioners; on the contrary, Sir, I believe it to be a measure pregnant with the most alarming consequences, and loudly calls for the interference of his majesty's ministers, to apply that balm which the nature and justice of the case may require. Trivial causes have often been found productive of the most alarming baneful effects, and from the discontented state of the Kilmainham pensioners resident in London and its environs, (which are not unknown to their Agent in Chelsea) little doubt can remain with respect to the situation of those in Ireland; where it is but reasonable to suppose, nine tenths of the whole mass, have fixed their residence; and probably three fifths of which are of the catholic persuasion, and dispersed through every city, town, village, and hamlet, within the island; having free access to the regular troops, militia and peasantry; to whom they are daily pouring out their complaints, which for my own part, I consider to be an evil of far greater magnitude, than the landing of 30,000 French troops, at a period when loyalty and unanimity in all classes of his majesty's subjects reigned predominant, and would exert themselves in the common cause; that of hurlidg destruction on the heads of their enemies.—That the above hints may be productive of the desired effect, is the sincere wish of a loyal subject, and while life continues to animate his clay, will never be ashamed, even in the face of his enemies, let them be men or devils, to acknowledge himself—A BRITISH VETERAN.

London 28th September 1807.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

DANISH WAR.

From the French official paper of the 20th September.

Copenhagen is in the hands of the English. It has capitulated 21 days after their landing in Zealand. Europe will learn with surprize that the city has fallen into their hands without the opening of the trenches, and solely through the terror of a bombardment. It is true, that the first effects were horrible; a part of the city is laid in ashes, a number of women and children killed, and the Danish General has judged that he was under a necessity to sign such a Capitulation.—Every thing induces a belief, that the Capitulation will not be ratified by the king of Denmark. The crown Prince has expressed the highest indignation that a General should enter into conditions, the nature of which is beyond the competence of a military officer to judge of. Already has he refused to see the English agent. Jackson, who presented himself before Kiel. He has declared, that

he will continue at war with England, and that he will recover by force of arms alone, whatever has been wrested from him by surprize and treachery.—It is observable, that in the 7th article the English speak of union and harmony between the two states. It becomes them, forsooth, to propose that the Danes should love them ! In fact, without a word said, without a pretence, without a declaration of war, even while at London all the forms of a genuine friendship were maintained with the Danish Ambassador; have they done no smaller mischief than to set fire to their ships and houses, and to carry terror and death into the bosoms of their peaceful families ?—If such provocation do not excite an implacable war with England—if a sentiment of hate and vengeance do not inflame all, from the old man to the boy, from the admiral to the cabin bay it is all over with the Danish nation. They have resolved to make a vigorous stand, for the injury which their independence has received is without example in the history of the world. Human language has no expression equal to describe such an enterprize.—Denmark has acted a foolish part, and has had this in common with the continent, that she has always been distrustful towards France, and giving all credit to the boasting and pretensions of the upright Cabinet of London. Surely, if the Danish army had been in Zealand, instead of being on the continent, at the moment when the English made their appearance, the latter never would have had success. Besides the English ministry have not so much to boast of. What has also resulted from this expedition is, that it has injured England, and what also will be the effect of it, history will represent it as nothing less than a foolish cruelty. For what was its object? to prevent the French from making themselves masters of the Danish fleet : but could they do this while that very fleet lay locked up in the port of a distant island ? And, if they had obtained possession of it, was it in their power to equip it, and conduct it to the harbours of France ? Will they augment the English fleet by fifteen or twenty block ships, which are found in the arsenal of Copenhagen ? But it is not ships which the English stand in need of. Do they hope to make themselves masters of the Sound, and to continue in possession of it, as of Gibraltar ? But by the capitulation of the English General, he has bound himself to evacuate Zealand, and to make no attack on Fuhnen. Was it feared that France would increase her hostile means by all the power of Denmark ? The means of preventing this were not difficult; either the Danes submitted to the threats of England, and then France took possesion of threefourths of Denmark ; or they rejected with indignation the offensive demand, and thereupon no one could any longer doubt, from the noble character of the Crown Prince, and the courage of the Danish Nation, when excited by desperation, that it became necessary to take up arms, and to make a common cause with France. Besides even in both alternatives, this attack gave a new enemy to England, and it could not have been planned but by a foolish policy, or a secret hostility to the power of Denmark; pleasing demonstration to mankind, that an unjust attack is ever pernicious.—The English Cabinet could not have contrived any thing more injurious to its interests, or more calculated to rouse the indignation of Europe than this base act of treachery. Do they believe that they have delivered themselves from a disagreeable situation, by a capitulation extorted by force from weakness, from pusillanimity.—They have for ever lost the friendship of Denmark, and the respect of all nations. They can make no use of the ships which they have taken, nor can they retain Zealand. The season approaches in which the East and West Indies, Ireland and England herself, may be attacked, whil the greater part of her force will be in danger of being inclosed in the ice of the Baltic. Either the English will remain in Zealand, and be driven from it in the winter, whatsoever force their army may be; or they will evacuate it, according to the terms of the capitulation, and then the Sound is shut against them for ever.—Denmark has a land force capable of resisting all the attacks of the English, and had it not been for the false security with which she was inspired, while the views of France engaged her attention, there would have been 40,000 men at Copenhagen ; and Lord Cathcart would have experienced, under the walls of that city, a reception equally memorable as that which fell to the Duke of York at Dunkirk and in Holland, and which the English are always sure to obtain whenever they venture to set foot on the Continent. Is it by taking the Danish fleet, by burning the capital, by attacking the independence, and violating the neutrality of Denmark, that the English ministers or their general pretend to preserve the neutrality of that country ? One is indeed compelled to form as unfavourable an opinion of their foresight as of their justice. If they expect to maintain themselves in Zealand, they must assemble there an army of at least 80,000 men, and even that force

would be insufficient.—But this attack will appear still more absurd and infatuated, if it be considered with respect to the effect which it must have on the powers of the continent, the hatred which it will arouse, and the vengeance which it will provoke.—The Emperor Alexander had offered his mediation to England. In return for this kindness, the English surprise the entrance to that sea, the independence of which he had guaranteed, taken by robbery the fleet, and the capital of a power with which she was united in the bonds of political friendship and neighbourhood. Thus the English repay the good offices which Russia has at all times done for them, the preference she has given to their commerce, and the immense sacrifices she has made to their policy! While they still might have obtained great advantages as the consequence of their connexion, they insult Russia in her honour, offend her in her relations with her allies, and attack her in her dearest interests. And in the dispute which they have created, they have made the respectable House of Denmark, which is related to the kings of England, the entire victim of their shameful attack. In vain will they endeavour to avoid indignation, by pretending that France had views against Denmark. If so, were they ignorant that they were committing a much more shameful aggression? But his interest, as well as his own glory, and that of his people, would have withheld the Emperor of the French from such a violation of the rights of mankind, and of the eternal morality of nations, the consequences of which would have been to re-kindle the flames of war, to offend Russia, and again spread fire and blood over the Continent. In all events, it would have been prudent in England not to have been the first to act in this manner. She had it always in her power to send her fleet to the Island of Zealand to defend it, and then she would have had on her side Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and the justice of her cause.—— When this expedition is thus considered in its object, its execution, and its results, we perceive in it only the desperate but blind policy of fear, which calculates nothing, heeds nothing, and respects nothing. How difficult will it be after all this to believe in the excellence of a constitution which authorises such transactions, or to admire the idle words of a parliament, which patiently bears with such injustice, and we may say such crimes.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

BUENOS AYRES.——*From the London Gazette Extraordinary, dated Downing street, September 12, 1807.*

(Continued from p. 575,)

A communication was opened with the army in the morning; they had stormed and taken possession of 4 guns, near the citadel. Bread, spirits, and ammunition were supplied from the ships.—On the 6th I directed the Encounter to endeavour to communicate with the army on the east side of the town, and supply them with what they might require. An hospital ship was likewise sent that way.——The Nereide was moored up as high as she could go, being in less than 3 fathoms, but still 9 miles from the town. At 1 P. M. I received a letter from Capt. Thompson, saying our affairs at the west end of the town were in a most distressing state, Brig. Gen. Craufurd and the whole of his brigade taken prisoners, and that a truce had been demanded and granted; at the same time requesting more transports might be moved up, in case it should be necessary to re-embark the troops.——I immediately went up to the Staunch gun brig, which was about a mile from the shore, and abreast of the post occupied by Sir S. Achmuty, and ordered the Medusa, Thisbe, and Saracen, which were left off Barragon, to come up as high as they could with safety. —Capt. Thompson, who was with the General, came off to me immediately, but was obliged to have a guard to protect him to the beach, although close to the gun brig; but it was dark. At 8 P. M. I received a note from Gen. Whitelocke informing me he had arrived there to see what more could be done by the gallantry and exertion of the army under his command, whose sufferings in every way had seldom, under any circumstances, been exceeded. Of one thing he was certain, that South America could never be English.—The inveteracy of every class of inhabitants was beyond belief. He wished to see me, as he had sent Gen. Gower to Gen. Liniers, in conseqnence of a letter he had received from the latter.—I cannot help taking this opportunity of saying how very active Capt. Thompson of the Fly has been, who placed the gun boats, which were commanded by Lieut. Fraser of the Medusa, and Lieut. Heron, of the Saracen.— Early in the morning of the 7th, the Staunch telegraphed to say I was wanted on shore immediately; a flag of truce was still flying at our headquarters. On my going on shore the General shewed me the proposals made by the Spanish General Liniers, (a copy of which I inclose,) and observed, that he was of opinion, as well as were the other generals, that

it could answer no good purpose to persist, and that one great object was attained, that of getting all the prisoners back that had been taken in South America this war; that the destroying the town could not benefit us; and that he saw no prospect whatever of establishing ourselves in this country, as there was not a friend to the English in it; that the number of our prisoners the enemy had were in the power of an enraged mob; and that persisting on our part would make their situation truly distressing; the number of our killed and wounded, although not exactly ascertained, was said to be very great. Under these circumstances, and being persuaded that the people of this country did not wish to be under the British government, I signed the preliminaries, trusting that what I have done will meet their lordships' approbation.—I have directed Capt. Prevost, of the Saracen, to be ready to proceed to England as soon as Gen. Whitelocke's dispatches are ready, and to receive Sir S. Achmuty for a passage, with Col. Bourke, who carries the General's dispatches.——I have not yet had any returns from Captains Rowley or Joyce, who are still with the seamen that landed; but Lieut. Squarey, of the Polyphemus, who was with his men in the advanced brigade, I took off yesterday wounded, but not badly; he informs me that only one of his men is missing.—GEORGE MURRAY.

Head Quarters, Plaza de Toros, July 7, 1807.

Sir,——We have the honour to acquaint you, that actuated alone by the motives stated to you by Maj. Gen. Leveson Gower, we consent to the terms proposed.——Officers shall be named to meet others appointed by you, to make immediate arrangements for the reception of prisoners, the embarkation of the British army, and other subjects.——We have the honour to be, &c. (Signed) J. WHITELOCKE. G. MURRAY.

His Exc. Gen. Liniers.

Preliminary Propositions agreed for between the General of the English Army and that of the Spanish Army in the River Plata.

I. There shall be from this time a cessation of hostilities on both sides of the River Plata.—II. The troops of his Britannic Majesty shall retain for the period of 2 months from this date, the Fortress of Monte Video; and as a neutral country, a line drawn from St. Carlos on the West, to Tando on the East; and there shall not be on any part of that line hostilities committed on either side; and in that space all English delinquents shall be judged by the English military law, and all Spanish delinquents by the Spanish law.—III. There shall be on both sides a mutual restitution of prisoners, including not only those which have been taken since the arrival of the troops under Lieut. Gen. Whitelocke, but all those his Britannic Majesty's subjects captured in South America since the war.——IV. There shall not be any impediments thrown in the way of the supplies of provisions which may be required for Monte Video.——V. A period of ten days shall be given for the re-embarkation of his Britannic Majesty's troops to pass to the north side of the River Plata, with all their arms, cannon, stores, and equipage at the most convenient points which may be selected, and during that time provisions may be sold to them.—VI. During the period of 4 months no impediment shall be thrown in the way of the commerce of the British merchants.——Answered—Inadmissible, because contrary to the Spanish laws.—I. Additional—When Monte Video is restored, it is to be uninjured, with the Spanish artillery originally belonging to it.—II. Additional—That there shall be mutually 3 officers of rank exchanged until the fulfilment of this treaty, it being understood that those British officers who have been in this country on their parole, are not again to serve in South America until they have been landed in Europe.

Nereide, off Buenos Ayres, July 10, 1807.

Sir,——Since my letter of the 8th inst. I have seen Captains Rowley and Joyce, who were landed with the seamen, and am happy to find 2 only are missing.——I mentioned Lieut. Squarey, of the Polyphemus, being wounded. The persevering conduct of Captains Rowley and Joyce, and the officers and seamen under their command, merits the highest encomiums. They had to drag the cannon for miles through the swamps, and the men were almost always harnessed to them. The General has, no doubt, expressed in his dispatches his thanks to them.—Capt. Prevost, who will have the honour of carrying the dispatches, will give their lordships any farther information: (I left the Saracen with some gun boats at Barragon after landing, lest it might have been necessary from bad roads, for the army to fall back); I beg leave to recommend him to their lordships' protection as an active, and very zealous officer.——I have the honour to be, &c.—GEO. MURRAY.

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